



**This electronic thesis or dissertation has been
downloaded from Explore Bristol Research,
<http://research-information.bristol.ac.uk>**

Author:

Paterson-Morgan, Emily

Title:

'Infernal God' : Byron's religion : its sources, impact & consequences

General rights

Access to the thesis is subject to the Creative Commons Attribution - NonCommercial-No Derivatives 4.0 International Public License. A copy of this may be found at <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/legalcode>. This license sets out your rights and the restrictions that apply to your access to the thesis so it is important you read this before proceeding.

Take down policy

Some pages of this thesis may have been removed for copyright restrictions prior to having it been deposited in Explore Bristol Research. However, if you have discovered material within the thesis that you consider to be unlawful e.g. breaches of copyright (either yours or that of a third party) or any other law, including but not limited to those relating to patent, trademark, confidentiality, data protection, obscenity, defamation, libel, then please contact collections-metadata@bristol.ac.uk and include the following information in your message:

- Your contact details
- Bibliographic details for the item, including a URL
- An outline nature of the complaint

Your claim will be investigated and, where appropriate, the item in question will be removed from public view as soon as possible.

‘INFERNAL GOD’

**BYRON’S RELIGION: ITS SOURCES, IMPACT &
CONSEQUENCES**

By
Emily Paterson-Morgan

A Dissertation submitted to the University of Bristol in accordance with the requirements of the degree of PhD in the Faculty of Arts, Department of English, October 2011.

Word Count: 80, 839 (without footnotes).
98,309 (with footnotes).

Abstract:

This study explores the impact of religion on Byron's poetry. It will not only examine the effects of his Calvinist upbringing but also investigate how this influenced his attraction to and utilisation of Dualist heresies in his poetry.

The first Chapter looks at the reasons behind Byron's repudiation of his Scottish Calvinist heritage caused by his negative perceptions of its God and its adherents. This will be followed by an exploration of the effects that this Calvinism had on Byron's mental state, with particular reference to the uniquely Calvinist form of depression known as Religious Despair.

The second Chapter will argue that it was his rejection of Calvinist doctrines and abhorrence of the Calvinist God that caused Byron to search for alternative answers to the existence of evil, eventually leading him to Dualism in its various forms. After an examination of the numerous sources of information on Dualism that Byron encountered, both historical and doctrinal, there will be a detailed analysis of the presence of Dualism in his poetry.

The third Chapter considers the purpose behind Byron's adaptation of Dualist imagery and ideology and its presence in his poetry. This will be achieved by first addressing the ways he uses Dualist doctrines and imagery to subvert Calvinist teachings and precepts, and then by detailing the surprisingly numerous parallels between Calvinism and Dualism. Particular attention will be paid to Byron's use of light and dark, linking it back to his remarkably complex relationship with the various religions that influenced him.

An awareness of Byron's interest in these religions can serve to provide a new and useful reading of his texts. Although there have been various works briefly touching upon the influence of different religions and philosophies on Byron's poetry, there has been no serious consideration of the overall effect and consequences of Byron's interaction with these faiths. Nor has there been a full, detailed examination of the sources of his knowledge, his understanding of them and the use which he makes of this knowledge in his writings. I say writings, as this thesis will rely on his letters and journals as evidentiary sources with a value almost equal to that of his poetry.

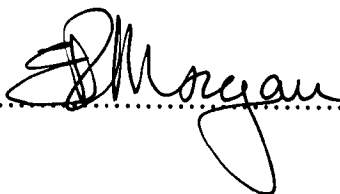
In this context, the thesis considers Byron's letters and journals as evidentiary sources alongside his poetry and plays. Moreover, the persistence in Byron's career and subsequent reception of a conflation between poet and poetry, creator and creation, by Byron's friends, family and critics means that his reputation and perception by his peers must also be considered and analysed as part of his artistic endeavour, particularly given his grasp of 'spin' and cult of publicity.


Finally, in challenging Calvinism and its adherents through a variety of means, including the appropriation of Dualist imagery and theology, Byron operated within a tradition that had an established history. The presence of several religious ideologies in his poetry will be contextualised by contrasting Byron's poetry with other literary works which present these faiths in a similar fashion.

DEDICATED TO MY GRANDFATHER, TIM REEVE.

I would like to thank everyone who helped me over the past four years, particularly my parents, Ros and Nick Paterson-Morgan, for putting up with me moving back home at an age when I should really have moved out, and my tutors Jo Carruthers and Ralph Pite for reading endless copies of the same material and allowing me a rather free reign with my research habits and sporadic university visits. I would also like to thank Fr. Schnork Baghdassarian for kindly agreeing to help me with various Armenian translations and providing introductions into the Armenian community at San Lazzaro, and Fr. Hamazasp for taking the time to unearth Fr. Pascal Aucher's journal and translate various passages for me. Finally I would like to thank the Zvi & Ofra Meitar Family Fund for its generous funding and support over the past year.

I declare that the work in this dissertation was carried out in accordance with the Regulations of the University of Bristol. The work is original, except where indicated by special reference in the text, and no part of the dissertation has been submitted for any other academic award. Any views expressed in the dissertation are those of the author.

SIGNED 

DATE 



Frontispiece: A Caricature of Lord Byron, 1823, from the Murray Collection.¹

¹ From *The Keats Shelley Memorial Bulletin*, 7, (1956), p.27.

Table of Contents:

Abstract:..... 2

List of Abbreviations: 8

List of Illustrations:..... 9

List of Maps:..... 13

INTRODUCTION: BYRON’S INFERNAL GOD 14

CHAPTER ONE: BYRON’S CALVINISM 20

 SECTION ONE: Calvinism ‘a disease of the mind’ 22

 ‘They say I am no Christian, but I am a Christian’ 22

 ‘Half a Scot by birth and bred / A whole one’: The Scottish Byron 25

 The Church of Scotland: God’s ‘awin sweit sect’ 27

 Byron’s Scotland: ‘a dark repressive force’ 34

 ‘Hymns, harpings and self-seeking prayers’: Byron’s Calvinists 41

 ‘I never arraigned his creed the but the use and abuse made of it’ 46

 Byron’s Misanthropic Deity: ‘His evil is not good!’ 49

 Conclusion: Byron ‘the scourge of sacred cows’ 54

 SECTION TWO: Byron’s ‘accents of despair’ 57

 ‘I am an atheist – a rebel – and, at last, the Devil’ 57

 Byron’s Depression: that ‘disease of the Spirit’ 59

 The ‘Bottomless Pit’ of Religious Despair 68

 Byron’s Reprobation: ‘Mine were the faults and mine be their reward’ 81

 ‘The mind’s canker in a savage mood’: Byron’s Poetical Despair 92

 Wrecked against the Rock of Predestination 98

 Conclusion: ‘I am no *Atheist*’ 106

CHAPTER TWO: BYRON’S DUALISM 108

 SECTION ONE: ‘Well read in the worst parts of ecclesiastical history’ 115

 ‘Of the Immortality of the Soul I have little doubt’: Gnosticism and the Armenian Epistles 115

 The ‘devilish doctrine of the Persian’: Zoroastrianism and Zurvanism 123

 Manichean Millenarianism and the ‘supremacy of Ahriman’ 130

 Bogomils, sprung from ‘those most godless Paulicians’ 134

 Catharism, the Great Heresy 139

 Conclusion: ‘there is something Pagan in me’ 142

 SECTION TWO: ‘They have stamped me an infidel’ 144

‘I am prepared to be accused of Manichaeism’	144
Half Dust, Half Deity.....	146
The Great Double Mysteries.....	154
Palling Pleasures and Sensual Sloth	160
Conclusion: Byron ‘clay from first to last’	170
CHAPTER THREE: SUBVERSIONS AND SIMILARITIES	174
SECTION ONE: ‘The basis of your religion is injustice’	177
Byron’s Challenge: ‘all the bullies on earth shall not prevent me from writing what I like’	177
Man as ‘a creator of signs’: Traditional Symbolism	181
‘The Prince of evil when he wished to make himself God, laid his hand upon them and bound all men in sin’	190
The darkness of God: His ‘covering of thick clouds’	193
‘Moths like maidens are ever caught by glare’: Byron’s Bad light.....	201
‘Night is also a religious concern’: Benevolent Darkness.....	210
Conclusion: ‘If we would arrive at the truth, each man must be taught to enquire and think for himself’	213
SECTION TWO: Calvinism and Dualism, Unnoticed Parallels	216
Men have a Spiritual Origin in a Carnal Body	219
Calvinist Austerity and Dualist Asceticism.....	225
‘Jehovah upon earth and God in Heaven’	234
Sleeping Heresies and Sacred Truths	245
‘ <i>Les dualistes Anglais</i> ’: Dualist influence on Calvinist Literature.....	248
Conclusion: Calvinism, Dualism or Platonism?.....	251
CONCLUSION: ‘Eat, drink, and love; the rest’s not worth a fillip’	255
Appendix One: Byron’s 1807 Reading List.	266
Appendix Two: Byron’s 1813 Sale Catalogue	269
Appendix Three: 1816 Sale Catalogue	275
Appendix Four: 1827 Sale Catalogue.....	284
Appendix Five: Epistle of the Corinthians to St Paul the Apostle	290
Appendix Six: Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians.....	291
Appendix Seven: Excerpt on Zurvanism from Esnacius’ <i>Refutatio</i>	294
BIBLIOGRAPHY:	295

List of Abbreviations:

<i>Adv. Haer.</i>	E. Osborn ed., <i>Irenaeus of Lyons</i> (Cambridge: CUP, 2001).
<i>BJ</i>	<i>The Byron Journal</i> .
<i>BLJ</i>	L. Marchand, <i>Byron Letters and Journals</i> , 13 Vols (London: John Murray, 1974).
<i>CMC</i>	R. Cameron, A.J. Dewy trans., <i>The Cologne Mani Codex</i> (Montana: Scholars Press, 1979).
<i>FQ</i>	E. Spenser, <i>Faerie Queene</i> , eds. T.P. Roche, C.P. O'Donnell (London: Longman, 2003).
<i>GHCD</i>	P. Bayle, <i>A General Dictionary, Historical and Critical</i> , 10 Vols (London: James Bettenham, 1734).
<i>Institutes</i>	J. Calvin, <i>Institutes of Christian Religion</i> , trans. H. Beveridge, 3 vols (Forgotten Books, reprint 2007, [1845]).
<i>NT</i>	New Testament.
<i>OT</i>	Old Testament.
<i>PL</i>	J. Milton, <i>Paradise Lost</i> (London: Arcturus, 2006).
<i>PP</i>	J. Bunyan, <i>Pilgrim's Progress</i> , (London: Penguin Classics, 2008).
<i>SVEC</i>	<i>Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century</i> .

Lord Byron's Poems:

<i>CHP</i>	<i>Childe Harold's Pilgrimage</i> .
<i>DJ</i>	<i>Don Juan</i> .
<i>DT</i>	'Deformed Transformed: A Drama'.
<i>HE</i>	' <i>Heaven and Earth; A Mystery</i> '.

List of Illustrations:

Figure 1: A Caricature of Lord Byron	5
Figure 2: Painting of Lord Byron	16
Figure 3: Painting of Young Lord Byron	20
Figure 4: Lord Byron's Home in Aberdeen	24
Figure 5: The Ruins of Gight	27
Figure 6: Aberdeen Presbytery Records	30
Figure 7: John Calvin	34
Figure 8: Churchill's Grave in Dover	36
Figure 9: The Trial of Effie Deans	38
Figure 10: Byron's House in Aberdeen	41
Figure 11: <i>The Deluge</i> by Francis Danby	43
Figure 12: 'Holy Willie's Prayer' by Robert Burns	46
Figure 13: Byron's Journeys in Calvinist Switzerland	49
Figure 14: <i>Adam Finding the Body of Abel</i> , by William Blake	52
Figure 15: <i>The Upas or Poison Tree of Java</i> , by Francis Danby	54
Figure 16: Engraving for The Book of Job by William Blake	56
Figure 17: <i>The Wood of Self Murderers</i> by William Blake	58
Figure 18: Byron the Brooding Poet	60
Figure 19: Gordons of Gight, Family Tree	63
Figure 20: View of Hagberry Pot below the Castle of Gight.....	66
Figure 21: Portrait of Lady Byron	68
Figure 22: 'Christian in the Slough of Despond'	70
Figure 23: Portrait of William Cowper	72
Figure 24: Portrait of Mary Shelley	74
Figure 25 : Illustration of Satan's anguish by Gustave Dore	76
Figure 26: Illustration of Satan's Despair by Gustave Dore	78
Figure 27: A Map of Christian's Journey to Salvation	80
Figure 28: "The Blasphemers with the Usurers and the Sodomites"	82
Figure 29: "The Punishment of Jacopo Rusticucci and His Companions"	82
Figure 30: 'The Wood of Suicides' by Gustave Dore	84
Figure 31: A Map of Dante's Inferno	86
Figure 32: 'The Lovers' Whirlwind' by William Blake	88
Figure 33: Byron's home in Aberdeen	90

Figure 34: Bunyan's Map of Salvation and Damnation	92
Figure 35: The Heretics in Dante's Inferno by Gustave Dore	93
Figure 36: Illustration for <i>The Giaour</i> after Gericault	95
Figure 37: Frontispiece for <i>Manfred</i>	97
Figure 38: <i>The Rescue</i> by James Francis Danby	100
Figure 39: <i>Wreck of the Minotaur</i> by J.M.W. Turner	102
Figure 40: <i>Slavers Throwing Overboard the Dead and the Dying</i>	102
Figure 41: <i>The Raft of the Medusa</i> by Gericault	104
Figure 42: <i>Dante and Virgil Crossing the Styx</i> , by Eugene Delacroix	105
Figure 43: <i>Shipwreck</i> by William Turner	106
Figure 44: 'The Delivery of Israel' by Francis Danby	108
Figure 45: Palazzo Mocenigo in Venice	110
Figure 46: Map of Venice	112
Figure 47: Byron's First Home in Venice	114
Figure 48: The Armenian Monastery on San Lazzaro	116
Figure 49: Illustration of Father Paschal Aucher	118
Figure 50: Passages on Byron from Father Paschal Aucher's Diary	118
Figure 51: San Lazzaro Monastery	122
Figure 52: Zoroastrian Fire Temple	126
Figure 53: Rock relief of the investiture of Ardasir I	129
Figure 54: Birth of Ohrmazd and Ahriman	131
Figure 55: Place where Byron wrote <i>Manfred</i> at San Lazzaro	132
Figure 56: The Massacre of the Paulicians	135
Figure 57: Tephrike	138
Figure 58: View of the four parts of the Palazzo Mocenigo	145
Figure 59: Illustration for the <i>Prisoner of Chillon</i>	147
Figure 60: <i>The Deluge</i> , by James Martin	150
Figure 61: <i>Manfred</i> by James Martin	153
Figure 62: <i>The Subsiding of the Deluge</i> , by Thomas Cole	156
Figure 63: The Devil is the Shadow of God	159
Figure 64: <i>Childe Harold's Pilgrimage</i>	162
Figure 65: <i>The Death of Sardanapalus</i> by Eugene Delacroix	165
Figure 66: Illustration for <i>Sardanapalus</i> by Achille Deveria	168
Figure 67: A Collection of Byron's letters recently sold by Sotheby's	170

Figure 68: <i>Conrad saure Gulnare de l'incendie</i> , by Horace Vernet	172
Figure 69: <i>Le Corsair</i> , by Horace Vernet	174
Figure 70: Illustration for <i>The Corsair</i> by Thomas Stothard	174
Figure 71: Illustration for <i>Sleeping Beauty</i> , the Prince's Kiss	176
Figure 72: Illustration for <i>Sleeping Beauty</i> , the Fairy Godmothers' Gifts	176
Figure 73: 'The Simoniac Pope' by William Blake	179
Figure 74: Frontispiece for <i>Don Juan</i>	183
Figure 75: A Letter from Byron to Henri Beyle	186
Figure 76: Illustration from <i>Paradise Lost</i> , by Gustave Dore	189
Figure 77: Mezzotint of Walter Scott, after Henry Raeburn	192
Figure 78: <i>Adoration of the Magi</i> by Andrea Mantegna	195
Figure 79: Detail from <i>The Adoration of the Magi</i> , by Andrea Casali	195
Figure 80: Thomas Love Peacock, by Henry Wallis	197
Figure 81: <i>The Deluge</i> , by J.W. Turner	199
Figure 82: <i>Expulsion from the Garden of Eden</i> , by Thomas Cole	201
Figure 83: Portrait of Thomas Moore	203
Figure 84: Ruins of an Achaemenian fire temple at Bishapur	205
Figure 85: <i>Scene from Manfred</i> , by Thomas Cole	207
Figure 86: <i>The Angel Standing in the Sun</i> , by J.W. Turner	209
Figure 87: <i>Regulus</i> , by J.W. Turner	211
Figure 88: Portrait of Byron	214
Figure 89: Portrait of Byron	216
Figure 90: Frontispiece from <i>Doctor Faustus</i>	219
Figure 91: Illustration by William Blake	222
Figure 92: Frontispiece from <i>Two Choice and Useful Treatises</i>	225
Figure 93: French Engraving from 1670	227
Figure 94: Andrew Marvell	229
Figure 95: Portrait of Percy Shelley, by Amelia Curran	232
Figure 96: <i>Jacob Wrestling with the Angel</i> , by Eugene Delacroix	234
Figure 97: <i>The Vain Lady sees the Devil's Posterior in her Mirror</i>	236
Figure 98: <i>Saint Peter and Simon Magus</i> , Benozzo Gozzoli	239
Figure 99: Illustration from <i>Lara</i>	242
Figure 100: Frontispiece from <i>Lara</i>	245
Figure 101: A Collection of Byron's Letters to Francis Hodgson.....	253

Figure 102: Portrait of Byron in Albanian Dress 256

Figure 103: Frontispiece from *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* 259

Figure 104: Shelley the Atheist 262

List of Maps:

Map One: The Spread of Gnosticism	120
Map Two: The Roman Empire	121
Map Three: The Spread of Zoroastrianism	124
Map Four: The Sassanid Empire	128
Map Five: The Spread of Manichaeism	133
Map Six: The Spread of Paulicianism	136
Map Seven: Armenia and its Colonies	137
Map Eight: Erevan and Surrounding Lands	137
Map Nine: The Spread of the Bogomils	139
Map Ten: The Spread of the Cathars	141
Map Eleven: The Spread of Dualism	142
Map Twelve: Dualism and Byron's Travels	143
Map Thirteen: The Spread of Christianity and the Spread of Dualism ...	247
Map Fourteen: The Overlap of Dualism and the Reformation	250

INTRODUCTION: BYRON'S INFERNAL GOD

*I see a dusk and awful figure rise,
Like an infernal god, from out the earth,
His face wrapt in a mantle, and his form
Robed as with angry clouds.*

Lord Byron, *Manfred: A Dramatic Poem*.²

The painter and photographer Degas famously wrote that ‘the artist must live alone and his private life must be unknown’.³ It is fortunate for Byron scholars that the poet did not conform to this model of the artist. There is a wealth of material by him and about him, based on his life and thoughts, lending depth to readings of his poetry and providing added evidence for critical studies such as this. Marshall condemns those examinations of Byron’s poetry based on his life, perceiving them as a sort of half-way house, neither literary criticism nor biography.⁴ However, the biographical approach has an enduring usefulness when dealing with Byron as so much of his life was conducted on the public stage and there is such a strong correlation between actual events and the poetical counterparts which Byron created. As will be shown, a number of his friends and acquaintances were aware of this synergy between fact and fiction – many argued that it was deliberate, though they were often undecided as to whether poet emulated poetry or creation was a reflection of creator. Byron’s religion is in part a biographical matter, as evidence for his beliefs can be found in the biographical sources. After all, evidence of religious commitment or personal faith is much more difficult to prove in literary texts without actual evidence of the writer’s interaction with and awareness of that faith in real life, rendering biographical material extremely important.

This thesis will examine how Byron’s poetry bears the marks firstly of his Calvinist background and secondly of his reaction to that, particularly in respect of his use of Dualist doctrines, which attracted him in part as a possible rejoinder or counter to the Calvinism of his youth.

² *Manfred* III.iv.62-65.

³ A. Werner, *Degas Pastels* (New York: Watson-Guption, 1969), p.11.

⁴ *The Structure of Byron’s Major Poems* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1965); Rutherford makes a similar warning about emphasising Byron the man over Byron the poet, to the detriment of poetical readings, A. Rutherford, *Byron: Critical Study* (London: Oliver & Boyd, 1961), p.xi.

However, there is another hurdle to the study of the presence of Calvinism and Dualism in Byron's poetry: the refusal of literary scholars to acknowledge the importance of religion in literature and therefore its importance in the study of literature.⁵ Recent literary criticism has been described as being:

dominated by a range of theoretical movements which are clandestinely united in the silent refusal of the possibility of faith. [This] has been especially prevalent in Romantic studies.⁶

Yet Christianity was a pervasive influence in society right up until the last century, all literary works reflect some aspect of Christian doctrine or imagery, whether it be a providential world where virtue is rewarded by miraculous deliverance and the wicked are damned, or merely the association of light with purity and piety. In light of this, it seems strange to neglect to examine the impact and influence of religion on literature. After all, why should political history or social issues be allowed a greater importance and be perceived as having a more pervasive influence than the religious questions which were arguably at the heart of some of the greatest works of English literature, even in the post-Enlightenment secularism of the early nineteenth century. How can works which have a religious element be adequately analysed without discussion of that religion and the reasoning behind its presence in that text? The anthropologist Douglas complains about this 'anti-ritualist prejudice' in British anthropology and her grievance is equally applicable to British literary criticism with its blinkered perception of the presence of religion in literature.⁷

Fortunately, this attitude has changed and there are a number of critical works focusing on the integral presence of religion in literature.⁸ Although there has always

⁵ A number of works condemn this mindset including G. Hopps and J. Stabler, eds. *Romanticism and Religion from William Cowper to Wallace Stevens* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006); C. la'Chance, 'Calvinistic Naturalism in Byron's *Corsair* and *Manfred*', *BJ*, 26, (1998), p. 61; W.Z.Hirst, 'Introduction', in *Byron, The Bible and Religion: Essays from the Twelfth International Byron Seminar* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1991), p. 16; J.D. Boulger, *The Calvinist Temper in English Poetry* (New York: Mouton Publishers, 1980), pp. viii, 6, amongst others.

⁶ 'Introduction' in *Romanticism and Religion from William Cowper to Wallace Stevens*, eds. Hopps and Stabler, whose Introduction contains a number of condemnations of this scholarly mindset.

⁷ M. Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Pollution and Taboo*, cited in F. Bowie, *Anthropology of Religion* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), p.62.

⁸ For example: K. Jackson, 'The Turn to Religion in Early Modern Studies', *Criticism*, 46, (2004), pp.167-190; Hopps and Stabler eds., *Romanticism and Religion*; M. Knight and E. Mason, *Nineteenth-Century Religion and Literature: an Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); D. Jasper, *The Study of Literature and Religion* (London: Macmillan Press, 1989); *The Sacred and Secular Canon in Romanticism – Preserving the Sacred Truths* (London: Macmillan Press, 1999); see also the works listed in fn. 3 and those that appear throughout the rest of the thesis.



Figure 2: Lord Byron, by Thomas Phillips.

been an understanding of the importance of religion in the examination of works by acknowledged religious writers such as Milton, Donne, Spenser, Bunyan and Cowper, many studies now look at the importance of religion in eighteenth and nineteenth-century literature, and the scholarly myopia of the past few decades has begun to be addressed. Moreover, the gradual acceptance of the value of the study of religion in literature has contributed to an appreciation of the importance of interdisciplinary work. Sharpe's argument that the study of religion in politics calls for an interdisciplinary approach is of equal validity for the study of religion in literature. He notes that 'an interdisciplinary approach' is necessary in order to 'elucidate the relationship of religion to other discourses'.⁹ Arguably, 'theolit' is now fashionable. After all, as this thesis will show, it is no use attempting to search for religious imagery and ideology in a poem without having a good knowledge of the religion in question and a fair understanding of how it affected the poet in his life and how he interacted with it. Besides, it goes both ways, and literature can be used as proof of the previously unsuspected presence of a particular faith in public consciousness, the knowledge of which would have been disseminated in part by literary works.

When studying the religious views of an author, inherently entangled with notions of belief and blind faith, it is important to remember that 'the truth or falsity of religious thought' is generally not the issue.¹⁰ The focus of any work dealing with religion, interdisciplinary or otherwise, should always be examining a 'cosmological statement or ritual practice [...] for what it reveals of a coherent body of thought' rather than whether or not it is true.¹¹ Although these comments were made by Religious Anthropologists rather than literary critics, they have equal application to the consideration of religion in literature.

Sadly, an insistence on the irrelevance of religion is often present in the study of Byron. Although there are various works touching upon specific aspects of his religious inclinations, or lack thereof, there has not been a comprehensive examination of the importance and presence of religion in Byron's work. I write 'religion' rather than a specific faith because the interaction with a number of beliefs is at the heart of Byron's complex attitude towards religion and will be addressed in

⁹ K. Sharpe, *Remapping Early Modern England: the Culture of Seventeenth-Century Politics* (Cambridge: CUP, 2000), pp.389-390.

¹⁰ E. Evans-Pritchard, *Theories of Primitive Religion*, (Oxford: OUP, 1972), p.17.

¹¹ Bowie, *Anthropology of Religion*, p.4.

this work. It is also, arguably, the reason why the prolific allusions to various ideologies have been relegated to mere irrelevancies by many scholars.

There is doubt as to the specifics of Byron's faith and even uncertainty as to whether he adhered to any religion. Various critics have presented arguments on the topic of Byron's faith, espousing wildly differing theories ranging from atheism to Socianism, via Platonism and Catholicism.¹² As Shelley noted in *Julian and Maddalo*, what Maddalo (based on Byron) thinks about religion is 'not known'.¹³ Shelley's cousin and Byron's friend Thomas Medwin offers a similar view of Byron's religious views, noting that 'it is difficult to judge from the contradictory nature of his writings what the religious opinions of Byron really were'.¹⁴ However, despite this uncertainty, Medwin explicitly states that Byron was still a Christian and perceived himself as such, and his doubts 'never amounted to a disbelief in the divine Founder of Christianity'.¹⁵ Taken in isolation, this statement could be viewed as Medwin protecting his reputation in the eyes of the conventionally devout. However, when read in conjunction with the numerous assertions of his Christianity by Byron and the views of friends such as the Shelleys, Hodgson, Hobhouse and Lady Byron, all examined in this work, Medwin's statement would seem to express the prevailing opinion concerning Byron's inherent Christian inclinations.

Byron perceived himself to be a 'very good Christian' and therefore he should be studied as such and his poetry examined within the context of Christianity.¹⁶ Marjarum argues that a:

Proper understanding of Byron's poetry requires the critic to be prepared at any time to consider the sincere statement of any one of several types of religious or philosophical thought.¹⁷

The key word here is 'sincere'. Although a number of Byron's comments are flippant remarks designed to upset or amuse, many are enunciations of an entrenched and

¹² J. Blythe, 'Byron, Milton and the Doctrines of Christian Liberty', in *Liberty and Poetic Licence: New Essays on Byron*, eds. T. Howe and C.E. Robinson (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008), pp.132-146; P. Barton, *Lord Byron's Religion: a Journey into Despair* (New York: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2003), p.83.

¹³ Preface from *Julian and Maddalo*, written in 1818.

¹⁴ Medwin, *Medwin's Conversations with Lord Byron*, ed. E. Lovell (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966), p.77.

¹⁵ Medwin, p.81.

¹⁶ BLJ IX.123. See also BLJ II.26, III.119, IV.81, VII.49, VIII.237, IX.49.

¹⁷ E. Marjarum, *Byron as a Skeptic and Believer* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1962), p.45.

irrevocable conviction that God exists. The fact that he praises and claims to adhere to a number of variants of the Christian religion should not be seen to rob his statements of their truthfulness. After all, how many people have changed their minds between fifteen and thirty-five? Why could Byron's thoughts and opinions concerning religion not evolve throughout his life? Countless other poets have been allowed to swing between Catholicism and Protestantism and back again, often via some obscure back-road such as Swedenborgianism, without it being assumed that all their protestations of faith were falsely contrived to create scandal and uproar. Yet scholars insist on condemning Byron for his doubts and refuse to allow that such doubts might arise from a deep-seated belief in God and an inherent faith in Christianity. This attitude seems to have been endemic even in Byron's own time and many viewed his changing religious beliefs and doubts as proof of a weakness of character, an integral flaw in his makeup. Byron's 'Note on Apostacy', written in 1819, laments the fact that:

The world visits change of politics or change of religion with a more severe censure than a mere difference of opinion would appear to me to deserve, but there must be some reason for this feeling; - and I think it is that these departures from the line of conduct chosen by us when we first enter into public life, have been seen to have more mischievous results for society, and to prove more weakness of mind than other actions, in themselves, more immoral.¹⁸

Byron's detractors based a large portion of their attacks concerning his alleged Satanism and Atheism on his religious uncertainty, his doubts concerning Calvinism and the expression of these doubts in his poetry. These doubts are seen as proof of a 'weakness of mind' and a Satanic Atheism that did not necessarily exist. This has led to a persistent neglect of the study of Byron's religion and expressions of various religious doctrines in his poetical works. This thesis aims to rectify this oversight and provide a comprehensive examination of Byron's relationship with the Scottish Calvinism of his childhood, the lifelong effects that his indoctrination into that faith had, leading to his interaction with Dualist heresies, and the impact and influence which both of those sets of faith had on his poetry.

¹⁸ Taken from A. Nicholson, *Lord Byron: The Complete Miscellaneous Prose* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), p.224.

Finally, this thesis will place particular emphasis on the sources of Byron's knowledge of the various religions and heresies he interacted with. With this in mind, an acknowledgement of the debt to Peter Cochrane must be inserted as this study relies heavily on his article 'Byron's Library: The Three Book Sale Catalogues', which reproduced the three Sale Catalogues from the sale of Byron's books in 1813, 1816 and 1827.¹⁹ They in turn are reproduced in Appendices Two, Three and Four, and provide evidence of Byron's ownership of various key source texts. These Sale Catalogues are of particular importance because, as Darnton points out, 'literary history is an artifice, pieced together over many generations, shortened here and lengthened there'. This means that it 'bears little relation to the actual' popularity of books in their own time.²⁰ Byron praised a number of books that were immensely popular in his time, yet have subsequently sunk without trace. Byron himself suffered this fate and until about fifty years ago when McGann's comprehensive edition of his poetry resurrected him as worthy of scholarly consideration, Byron couldn't get arrested as the saying goes.²¹ Now he has virtually supplanted Wordsworth as 'the' Romantic poet. A number of religious and historical texts used by Byron have experienced a similar decline in popularity, and the Sale Catalogues provide a useful source of correlative evidence.

¹⁹ P. Cochrane, 'Byron's Library: The Three Book Sale Catalogues', from *The International Byron Society*, www.internationalbyronsociety.org.

²⁰ R. Darnton, *The Forbidden Bestsellers of Pre-Revolutionary France* (London: WW Norton & Co, 1996), p.xvii.

²¹ For more on this see J. Stabler ed., *Palgrave Advances in Byron Studies* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

CHAPTER ONE: BYRON'S CALVINISM

*Protestantism – the adroit castrator
Of art; the bitter negation
Of song and dance and the heart's innocent joy –
You have botched our flesh and left us only the soul's
Terrible impotence in a warm world.*

'The Minister', R.S. Thomas.¹

Beatty warns that 'it is easy to exaggerate the importance of Byron's Calvinist upbringing and difficult to know its exact emphases'.² I would argue that, based on the overall lack of focus on Byron's religion, let alone Calvinism in particular, the opposite is true. Byron's Calvinism and its effect on his poetry has been greatly underestimated with a detrimental result on criticism of his work.

There have been several works examining Byron's Calvinism, including *Romanticism and Religion from William Cowper to Wallace Stevens*, Boulger's detailed work *The Calvinist Temper* and more recent works by Calvert, Ryan and Rawes.³ Boulger provides perhaps the best overview of Byron's Calvinism though it is inevitably brief owing to the wide range of poets covered in the book. He and Ryan address the marked neglect of 'the believing side of Byron' which has 'impaired criticism',⁴ though Ryan's discussion of Byron is sadly condensed. Another extremely useful article on Byron's condemnation of the Clergy and the Church in general is Stavrou's detailed study of religion in *Don Juan*, though again this is limited in scope.⁵

¹ R.S. Thomas, *Collected Poems: 1945-1990* (London: Dent, 1993), p.135.

² B. Beatty, unpublished work cited in C. Kenyon Jones, "'I was bred a moderate Presbyterian": Byron, Thomas Chalmers and the Scottish Religious Heritage', in Hopps and Stabler, *Romanticism and Religion*, p.108.

³ J.D. Boulger, *The Calvinist Temper in English Poetry* (New York: Mouton Publishers, 1980); W. Calvert, *Byron: a Romantic Paradox* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1962); A. Rawes, 'Lord Byron', *The Edinburgh History of Scottish Literature*, ed. S. Manning, 2 vols (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), II, pp.178-182.

⁴ R.M. Ryan, *The Romantic Reformation: Religious Politics in English Literature 1789-1824* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p.129.

⁵ C.N. Stavrou, 'Religion in Byron's *Don Juan*', *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*, 3, (1963), pp. 567-594.



Figure 3: Byron in Genoa, sketched by Count Alfred D'Orsay. The picture shows a very slim Byron just prior to his travelling to Greece.

None of these studies provide a comprehensive analysis of the exact nature of Byron's Calvinism and its full impact on his poetry. This thesis seeks to address this gap; Section One considers the effect that childhood indoctrination in Scottish Calvinism had on Byron and the violent antipathy towards God this engendered. This was a religion from which Byron claimed he could never 'achieve comfort'.⁶ It should be noted that, as Patrick Collinson points out, the term 'Calvinism' is a 'blunt instrument' that is too unwieldy given the many divergent Calvinist groups that evolved after Calvin's death.⁷ For the purposes of this work the term 'Calvinism' shall refer to Scottish Calvinism.

⁶ BLJ IV.78.

⁷ Cited in S. Hughes, 'The Problem of Calvinism: English Theologies of Predestination, 1580-1630', *Belief and Practise in Reformation England*, ed. S. Wabuda (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), p.229.

SECTION ONE: Calvinism 'a disease of the mind'⁸

*I am a vile polluted lump of earth,
So I've continued ever since my birth;
Although Jehovah grace does daily give me,
As sure this monster Satan will deceive me,
Come, therefore, Lord from Satan's claws relieve me.*

Isaac Watts, 'Acrostic' on his name.⁹

'They say I am no Christian, but I am a Christian'¹⁰

The most important thing to remember throughout this thesis is that Byron genuinely perceived himself as a Christian despite challenging Orthodox Calvinists, attacking their beliefs and representation of God.¹¹ His wife describes his desperate struggle to reconcile his faith with his distaste for religion:

After exhausting his powers of reason, wit and ridicule in trying to refute the arguments of religion, he would often say with violence: 'The worst of it is that I do believe'.¹²

Byron's attitude to 'revealed religion' is conflicted and characterised by reluctance. On the one hand he was brought up as a Christian and retained a reverence for the 'Great First Cause' throughout his life.¹³ On the other, he loathed the Calvinism of his childhood and what he saw as narrow-minded 'credulous intolerance' which Calvinist doctrines, discussed below, encouraged.¹⁴ It is this conflict which gives his poetical denunciations their strength.

Byron's complex attitude towards religion can be seen below:

Of religion I know nothing, at least in its *favour*. We have fools in all sects and
Imposters in most; why should I believe mysteries no one understands,
because written by men who choose to mistake madness for Inspiration, and
style themselves *Evangelicals*?¹⁵

⁸ BLJ III.64.

⁹ T. Gibbons, *Memoirs of Rev. Isaac Watts* (London: Buckland, 1780), p.5.

¹⁰ Quotation from an article by an anonymous clergyman in N. Page, *Byron: Interviews and Recollections* (London: The Macmillan Press, 1985), p.102.

¹¹ BLJ II.119; BLJ V.245; BLJ VIII.237; BLJ XIII.123.

¹² Cited from L. Marchand, *Byron a Biography*, 2 vols (London: John Murray, 1957), II, p.215.

¹³ BLJ II.97.

¹⁴ BLJ IV.60.

¹⁵ BLJ I.114.

Byron might believe in God, but he was not an advocate of religion. The quotation shows his disdain for organised faith based on the incomprehensible writings of deluded madmen. 'Evangelicals' implies that Byron was specifically targeting a Protestant offshoot of Calvinism.¹⁶ The 'madness' which most troubled Byron in Calvinist doctrines was its conception of a vindictive God, whom he perceived Calvinists as emulating. In this he is not unique; there have been condemnations of the cruelty of the Calvinist God since the earliest days of the Reformation. These include detailed theological treatises, attacks in Scottish poetry and denunciations in diaries.¹⁷ The eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries saw perhaps the largest outpouring of vitriol directed against the Calvinist Deity, including the Enlightenment repudiations of God's existence, poems by devout Calvinists and the numerous accusations by Romantic writers. Embedding Byron in this anti-Calvinist context reinforces the religious aspects of his poetry.

Even critics who touch upon the complex issue of Byron's religion often disparage its most interesting products. One such is Gleckner, who erroneously dismisses Byron's plays as mere 'peripheral concerns [...] and digressive interests'.¹⁸ Yet *Cain: a Mystery, Heaven and Earth*, and *Manfred: a Tragedy* provide many of the most detailed expressions of religious doctrine and vehement assaults against the 'infernal' Calvinist God in the whole of the Byronic Corpus. Challenging Calvinism cannot be dismissed as a 'peripheral' issue. The patent religiosity of these plays is proved by their inclusion, along with another poem by Byron, 'The Prayer of Nature', in the *Penguin Book of Religious Verse*.¹⁹ Given the undeniable importance of religion to Byron, attested to by his friends and family, it is absurd to neglect poems whose central topic is religion. Gleckner grudgingly acknowledges that it is 'possible

¹⁶ D.W. Bebbington describes how the Evangelicals evolved from Protestant-Anglican groups such as the Methodists and the Clapham Sect, coming to particular prominence in America in the nineteenth-century revival, *Evangelicals in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London: Routledge, 1988). For a literary example, look at Brontë's unflattering depiction of the callous Evangelical Mr Brockenhurst in *Jane Eyre*.

¹⁷ J. Taylor, *The Scripture Doctrine of Original Sin, Proposed to Free and Candid Examination*, 4th ed. (London: M. Waugh, 1767); Anon., *The Dogon of Calvinism, The Moloch of Decrees* (182-?); E. Brown, *The Trial of Cain, the First Murderer, By Rule of Court* (New York: Lowell, 1840); J. Hogg, *The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner*, eds. P.D. Garside and I. Cambell (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2001); there are also many examples in J. Stachniewski, *Persecutory Imagination: English Puritanism and the Literature of Religious Despair* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991).

¹⁸ R. Gleckner, *Byron and the Ruins of Paradise* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1967), p.299.

¹⁹ R.S. Thomas ed., *The Penguin Book of Religious Verse* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1963).

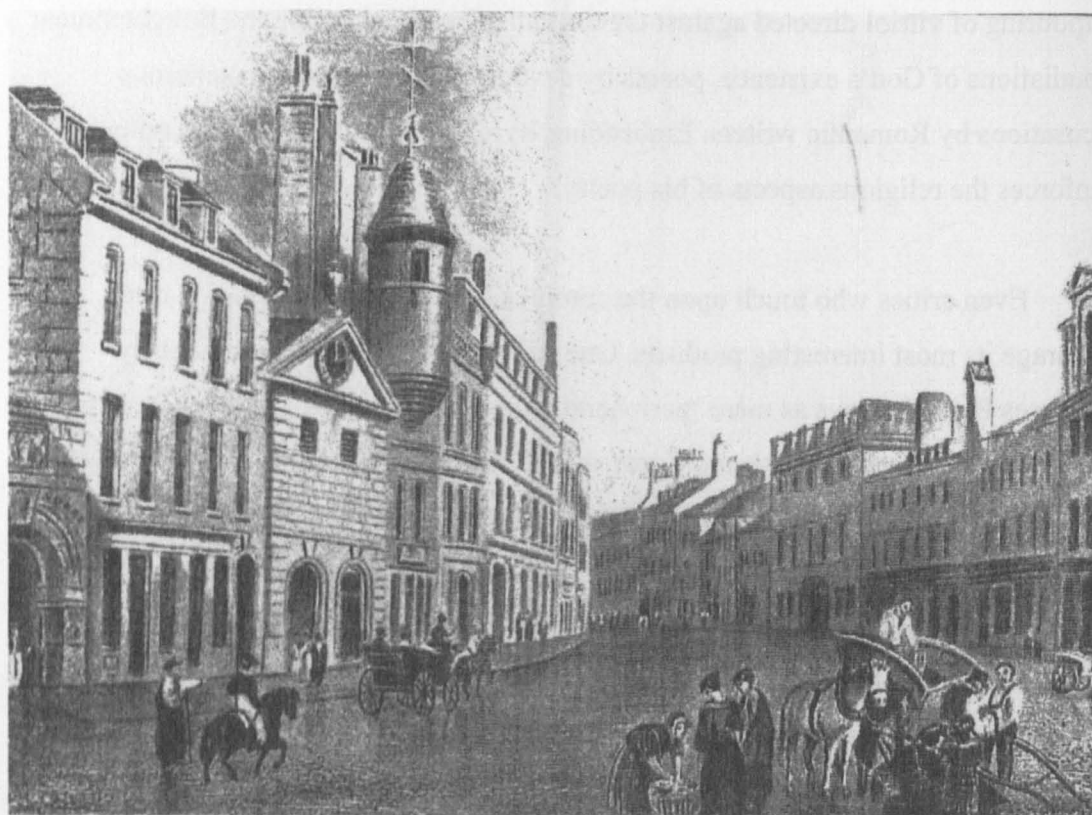


Figure 4: Lord Byron lived in the house next to the turret, in Aberdeen¹

¹ From D. Morgan, *Lost Aberdeen: Aberdeen's Lost Architectural Heritage* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2009), p.74. Unfortunately the majority of these buildings no longer exist, and so one must rely on Morgan's collection of photographs and old sketches.

that Calvinistically trained Byron was more fully aware' of the religious issues in his poems than he is 'willing to give him credit for'.²⁰ In fact, Byron was not only fully aware of Calvinist doctrines, as this thesis will show, but their presence in his poetry is a calculated action, acknowledging and attacking the tenets of the Church of Scotland. Donnelly provides an interesting perspective on this peculiarly antagonistic relationship with Calvinism, describing Byron as a 'secular Calvinist' who might have rejected his early indoctrination but was unable to evade its impact on his perception of the world, his place in it, and God's nature.²¹ Goethe, a staunch admirer of Byron and his poetry, perceived *Cain* as evidence of:

How the inadequate dogmas of the Church work upon a free mind like
Byron's and how, by such a piece, he struggles to get rid of a doctrine which
has been forced upon him.²²

Boulger dismisses most works on Byron's Calvinism as 'superficial' or 'unimportant reminiscence' concerning his childhood in Calvinist Scotland.²³ For example Sloane's article, 'Lord Byron and the Demons of Calvinism', ignores the massive impact that Calvinism had on Byron and the vast array of references in his poetry. He merely uses Calvinism to explain Byron's bad behaviour, casting him in the role of a sulky, self-centred child who:

Armed with a Puritan conception of wickedness, [...] wallowed in Olympian debauchery, oscillating between "ungodly glee" and self-loathing.²⁴

Yet Calvinism was so much more than a wall for Byron to kick against or a code of behaviour to thumb his nose at. Although Sloane is right to describe Byron as affected by 'a Puritan conception of wickedness', he is wrong to portray Byron as having a check list of sins to commit, ticking each one off like a prototype Dorian Gray. Byron was shaped by his Calvinist upbringing which resulted in an unshakeable belief in his own preordained damnation. Though this work will not go as far as Boulger in stating that Calvinism was the dominant influence on Byron's life and poetry, as Chapter

²⁰ Gleckner, *Ruins*, p.99.

²¹ W. Donnelly, 'Byron and Catholicism' in *Byron and Scotland – Radical or Dandy?*, ed. A Calder (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1989), p.47.

²² Cited in A. Rutherford, *Byron: Critical Heritage* (London: Routledge, 1970), p.218.

²³ Boulger, *Calvinist Temper*, pp. 425-26.

²⁴ G. Sloane, 'Great Minds: Lord Byron and the Demons of Calvinism', *Free Enquiry*, 8, (2008), p. 45.

Two will provide an alternative equally influential faith, Calvinism had a far greater impact on Byron and his poetry than is generally acknowledged.²⁵

‘Half a Scot by birth and bred / A whole one’: The Scottish Byron²⁶

It is important to ground this study of Byron within his contemporary context. The focus must be on the Scotland of Byron’s lifetime, on the Church doctrines of his childhood, the books he read, the places he went and the people he met. Rutherford’s strictures concerning the overemphasis of Byron the man to the detriment of Byron the poet come to mind.²⁷ However, in order to recognise and understand the presence of religion in Byron’s poetry one must recognise and understand that religion, how he interacted with it and its impact on him. Only then can the startlingly pervasive effects be traced in his poetry. Religious Anthropologists argue that:

Our actions are determined by what we think, by our values and belief systems. These in turn are actualized and reinforced by our education, through various aspects of our culture, and by means of ritual activity.²⁸

In order to study the impact of religion on Byron’s poetry it is imperative that *his* values and belief systems, *his* education and culture are examined. Barton’s view of Scottish Calvinism as a ‘distortion’ of Calvin’s precepts and therefore irrelevant in the context of Byron is completely inaccurate, as it was the Calvinism of the Church of Scotland which Byron was indoctrinated in, and reacting against.²⁹

Byron’s childhood was spent in Scotland. He describes himself as ‘half a scot by birth and bred/ A whole one’ and so he was – for the first years of his life.³⁰ His mother, Catherine Gordon, was a Scottish Laird, the last Gordon of Gight, where her family had ruled since 1533. Little now remains of Gight Castle, abandoned soon after it was sold to Catherine’s cousin the Earl of Aberdeen. Yet it remains an emblem

²⁵ Boulger, *Calvinist Temper*, p. viii.

²⁶ DJ X.17. All quotations of Byron’s poems are taken from J. McGann, *The Complete Poetical Works of Lord Byron*, 7 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980-1993).

²⁷ A. Rutherford, *Byron: Critical Study* (London: Oliver & Boyd, 1961), p.xi.

²⁸ F. Bowie, *The Anthropology of Religion* (Oxford : Blackwell Publishing, 2006), p.107.

²⁹ P. Barton, *Lord Byron’s Religion: a Journey into Despair* (New York: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2003), pp.6-9.

³⁰ E. Marjarum, *Byron as a Skeptic and Believer* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1962); A. Calder ed., *Byron and Scotland*; A. Rutherford, ‘Byron, Scott and Scotland’, in *Lord Byron and his Contemporaries: Essays from the 6th International Byron Seminar*, ed. C.E. Robinson (London: University of Delaware Press, 1982), pp.43-65; C Kenyon-Jones, ‘I was Bred a Moderate Presbyterian’, pp.107-119; Rawes, ‘Lord Byron’, pp.178-182; H. de Almieda, ‘Byron’s Scots and Byron’s Scotland’, *Studies in Romanticism*, 47, (2008), pp.3-14.

of Byron's Scottish heritage, which he was proud of despite his aversion to the Church of Scotland and even considered buying back.³¹ Byron was reared in Aberdeen, a city known for its pious adherence to the strictest forms of Scottish Calvinism, as can be seen from the Aberdeen Presbytery records of the Kirk rulings in the area.³² It was under Calvinists such as Ross, Paterson, and 'Bodsy Bowers' that Byron was schooled in religion.³³ Byron's antipathy towards Calvinism can be seen in his well-known letter to William Gifford, 'Editor of one of the principal Reviews',³⁴ describing how he was 'disgusted with a Calvinistic Scotch school' where he was 'cudgelled to Church for the first ten years' of his life.³⁵ Harness, Hodgson and Byron's wife all describe how Byron was unavoidably affected by 'the extreme dogmas of Calvinism' which 'his mind had thus imbibed' from 'his early education in Scotland'.³⁶ Despite his well-publicised abhorrence, Byron's denunciations 'never amounted to a disbelief in the Divine Founder of Christianity'.³⁷

There were a number of sources of religious indoctrination for Byron. Even his nurse, May Gray, was a devout believer who regaled the young Byron with biblical stories and taught him the basic principles of man's predestined damnation.³⁸ A self avowed Calvinist,³⁹ Byron went to Trinity College at Cambridge University, a renowned 'intellectual stronghold' for the Reformation when it first came to England.⁴⁰ Cambridge was the epicentre of English Calvinism and many of the most influential Calvinist theologians studied there.⁴¹ It was at Cambridge that Byron met

³¹ BLJ VIII.73.

³² See the Scottish National Archives, Scottish Church Documents, the Presbytery minutes for Aberdeen City Parish, the digitised records span from 1598 to 1901 and provide a fascinating insight into the enforcement of rules and regulations in the Church of Scotland, CH2/1/1 to CH2/1/25, at www.scottishdocuments.com. See also Chapter One of R. Small, *The History of the United Presbyterian Church* (Edinburgh: 1904), which focuses on Aberdeen.

³³ BLJ VIII.107.

³⁴ BLJ II.78.

³⁵ BLJ III.63.

³⁶ William Harness, cited in J. Hodgson, *The Memoirs of The Rev. Francis Hodgson*, 2 vols (London: Macmillan & Co, 1878), I, pp.219-221.

³⁷ Medwin, *Conversations with Lord Byron*, ed. E. Lovell. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966), p.117; BLJ III.76.

³⁸ A. Maurois, *Byron*, trans. H. Miles (London: Jonathan Cape, 1930), p.37.

³⁹ B. Russell, *The History of Western Philosophy* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1946), p.776.

⁴⁰ Boulger, *Calvinist Temper*, p.135.

⁴¹ A. Sinfield, *Literature in Protestant England 1560-1660* (London: Croom & Helm, 1983), p.13; H.C. Porter, *Reformation and Reaction in Tudor Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958).



Figure 5: The Ruins of Gight.²

² Photograph taken on trip to Gight with Byron's Scottish descendants.

and befriended Francis Hodgson, a ‘destined deacon’.⁴² The letters between Byron and Hodgson not only provide a fascinating insight into Byron’s religious views but also reveal Hodgson as another source of information concerning Protestant doctrine for Byron.⁴³

Literature provided an endless array of examples of these doctrines in everyday life, owing to their presence in almost all the literary output from the sixteenth century onwards. New argues that it would be nearly impossible to find a fictional work between 1600 and 1800 which did not mirror a providential world with an actively involved Deity meting out justice.⁴⁴ Moreover, as well as literature with dogma incidentally embedded in it, there were deliberately religious fictional works, such as Spenser’s *Faerie Queene*, Milton’s *Paradise Lost* and Bunyan’s *Pilgrim’s Progress*. These provided Byron with a secondary source of doctrinal information, one which someone with his extensive reading habits would have made full use of.⁴⁵ Finally, one must not discount the importance of Byron’s extensive knowledge of the Bible, the basis for all the tenets of Calvinism.⁴⁶

The Church of Scotland: God’s ‘awin sweit sect’⁴⁷

It is important to remember that although Scotland is often viewed as a puritanical backwater annexed by England, between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries it was a leading light in religious and philosophical circles. At the same time Scottish

⁴² BLJ II.78.

⁴³ Edinburgh, Scottish National Library, John Murray Archive, (JMA), MS.43447; *The Memoirs of The Rev. Francis Hodgson*. Byron also went to Geneva, the Calvinist stronghold and dwelling of Calvin himself.

⁴⁴ M. New, ‘The Grease of God: the Form of Eighteenth Century Fiction’, *PMLA*, 91, (1976), p.235. See also S. Manning, *History of Scottish Literature*, II, *passim*; R.D.S. Jack, *Scottish Prose, 1550-1700* (London: Calder & Boyers, 1971); S. Manning, *The Puritan Provincial Vision: Scottish and American Literature in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

⁴⁵ See Appendices 1-4.

⁴⁶ BLJ IV.60; BLJ V.238; Kennedy, *Conversations on Religion with Lord Byron and Others, held in Cephalonia a Short Time Previous to his Lordship’s Death* (London: John Murray, 1830), pp. 43, 56, 101, 136; Maurois, *Byron*, p.38; T. Looper, *Byron and the Bible: a Compendium of Biblical Usage in the Poetry of Lord Byron* (London: Scarecrow Press, 1978). For the importance of the King James Bible for the Romantics, see M. Wedd, ‘Literature and Religion’, in *A Companion to Romanticism*, ed. D. Wu (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1998), pp.61-71.

⁴⁷ A Scottish hymn, ‘Of the Day of Judgement’, *Gude and Godly Ballatis*, ed. A.F. Mitchell (Edinburgh, Will Black & Sons, 1847), p.234.

Calvinism was viewed as a 'dark repressive force' due to its extremist take on Calvin's doctrines.⁴⁸

The political intrigue of the years after the death of James V and the regency of his daughter Queen Mary distracted attention from the rapid spread of the Reformation in Scotland under the auspices of figures such as John Knox, 1514-1572.⁴⁹ The eventual discrediting of the aristocracy and Parliament due to these political machinations, along with the murder of the influential catholic Cardinal Beatoun,⁵⁰ resulted in an unusually powerful Church with an almost unprecedented amount of control over religious and civil issues.⁵¹ This allowed Scottish Calvinism to enforce its teachings with unwonted rigour.

The central tenets of Calvinism, based on Calvin's hugely influential *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, can be seen in a brief personalised form in the epigraph for this Section, written by the seventeenth-century Calvinist, Isaac Watts.⁵² Calvin based his faith on five interlocking doctrines, which were confirmed as the basis for Calvinism by the Synod at Dort in the winter of 1618-19. These were Total Depravity, Unconditional Election, Limited Atonement, Irresistible Grace and the Perseverance of the Saints, also known as Justification. It is important to remember the web-like nature of Calvinism; rather like a puzzle, it has to be completed in order to be understood. In isolation each doctrine is a random piece, showing neither a coherent nor clearly identifiable image. However, when all the doctrines are linked together and viewed as a whole, the precepts of the faith work in unified cohesion.

⁴⁸ D. Macleod, 'Scottish Calvinism: a Dark Repressive Force', *The Scottish Bulletin of Evangelical Theology*, 19, (2001).

⁴⁹ For more details on Knox, see P. Benedict, *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed: A Social History of Calvinism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), pp.152-161; R.D.S. Jack, *Scottish Prose, passim*. Byron would also have been aware of Knox, not only from his time in Scotland, but also because there was a large entry in *GHCD*, VI, pp.548-553.

⁵⁰ Beatoun was an ancestor of Byron's, as one of his daughters married a Gordon of Gight. J.M. Bullock, *The Tragic Adventures of Byron's Ancestors. The Gordons of Gight, a Study in Degeneration* (Aberdeen: 1898), unpaginated, see Figure 18.

⁵¹ For details of the history of the development of Scottish Calvinism in its early years, W. Robertson, *The History of Scotland During the Reign of Queen Mary and King James VI* (London: T. Cadall, 1821), provides a wealth of detail, (Byron claims to have read it in his 1807 Reading List), while Bishop Leslie, *The Historie of Scotland* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1895), offers a Catholic perspective. For more modern works, see M.C. Bell, *Calvin and Scottish Theology* (Edinburgh: The Handel Press, 1985); D.G. Mullan, *Scottish Puritanism 1590 – 1638* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); P. Benedict, *Christ's Churches*, pp.152-172.

⁵² Byron was aware of Watts from T. Campbell, *Specimens of the British Poets* (London: Murray, 1819), V, pp. 245-247; Appendix 4, number 40; *DJ V*, End Notes.

Watts' Acrostic opens with the line 'I am a vile polluted lump of earth', reflecting the first of Calvin's five points – Total Depravity. Calvin believed that all of humanity was so completely and irretrievably wicked that they could never perform any good whatsoever.⁵³ The reason for mankind's 'corruption and rottenness [...] hypocrisy and deceit' is that we are 'bound in the fetters of wickedness' and therefore cannot 'conceive, desire or design anything but what is wicked, distorted, foul, impure and iniquitous'.⁵⁴ In a similar fashion, Byron uses the phrase 'Mass of Corruption', questioning how goodness or virtue can come from such.⁵⁵ He was certainly aware of the concept of Total Depravity – after all, the stereotype of the Byronic hero, drawn from his poems, includes a terrible unspoken guilt and future punishment. According to the 'zealous Doctor Kennedy', a 'very good Calvinist' with whom Byron had a number of conversations on the topic of religion, Byron claimed that his damned characters do Calvinists a service, by 'endeavouring to convince people of their depravity'.⁵⁶ In another conversation with Kennedy, he talks of his conviction of 'the wickedness and depravity of human nature' and the 'vileness and villainy' hidden behind polite masks.⁵⁷

But why is mankind so thoroughly 'envenomed by sin'?⁵⁸ Calvinists believed in the doctrine of Original Sin: that mankind was tainted by the sin of Adam, seminally present in every human being.⁵⁹ There is a differentiation between the *peccatum originale origian*, the first sin, and the *peccatum originale originatum*, which is the transferrable sin, transmitted to every person from the moment of conception.⁶⁰ Watts mentions this in the second line of his poem, describing himself as sinful from birth. Original Sin is one of the most important principles of Calvinist theology, providing a reason for death and suffering and explaining Man's capacity for evil. Byron discussed the 'difficulties of original sin' with Doctor Kennedy.⁶¹ His poems contain references to the 'strange doom' of Original Sin, a 'just inheritance'

⁵³ *Institutes* 2.1.1, 2.1.8-9, 1.2.18 and 3.2.25.

⁵⁴ *Institutes* 2.5.19.

⁵⁵ BLJ II.69.

⁵⁶ Kennedy, p.166.

⁵⁷ Kennedy, pp.139-140, Byron also discusses Original Sin here.

⁵⁸ *Institutes* 2.5.19.

⁵⁹ *Institutes* 2.1.6, 2.1.8, 3.23.7, 23.2, 2.1.88.

⁶⁰ *The Catholic Dictionary of Theology*, 3 vols (London: Nelson & Sons, 1971), III, p.378.

⁶¹ Kennedy, p.103.

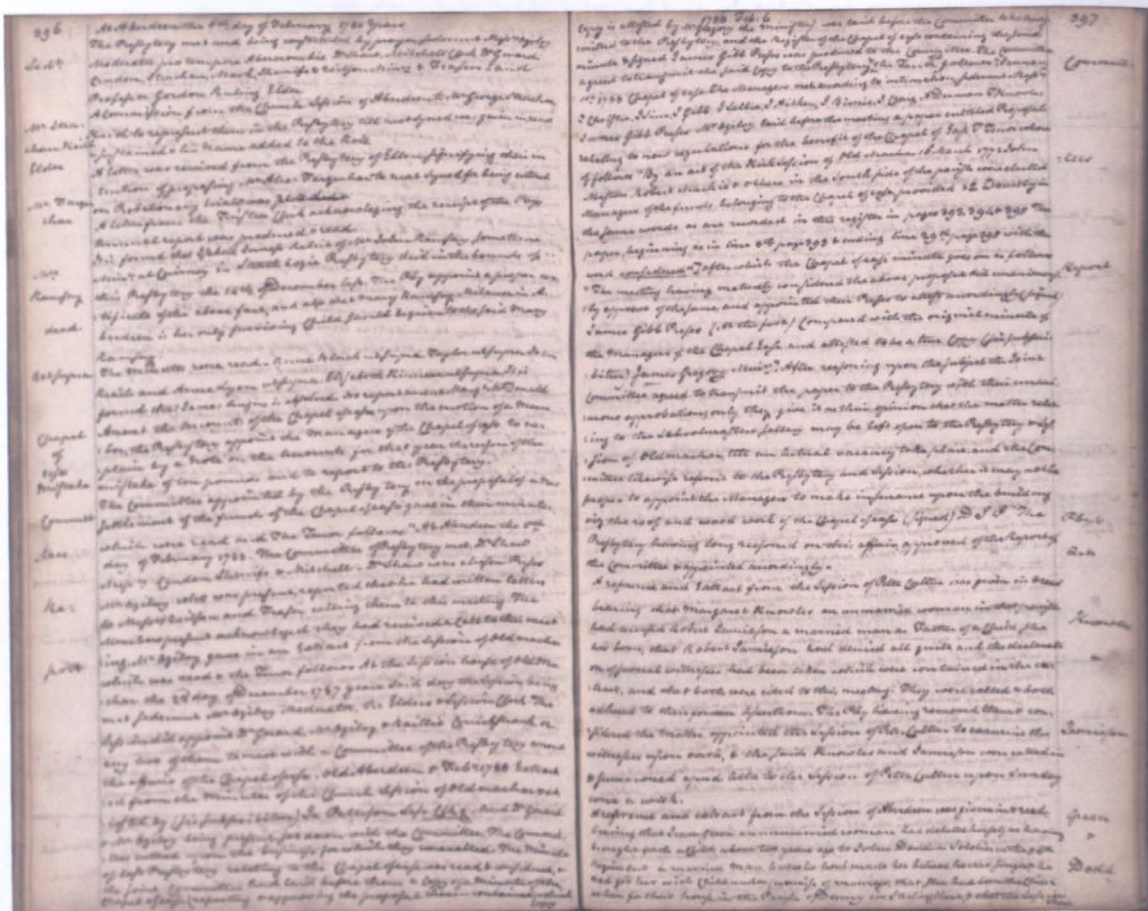


Figure 6: Aberdeen Presbytery records for February, 1788.³

³ From the Scottish Documents, Scottish National Archives, CH2/1/2.

bequeathed to 'father's son's' indefinitely.⁶² Original Sin is primarily alluded to in *The Giaour*, *Childe Harold* Cantos I and IV, as well as in *Manfred*, *The Bride of Abydos* and *Cain*.⁶³

The second and third points of Calvinism are intimated in the remainder of Watts' poem. He describes how 'Jehovah grace does daily give me', saving him from 'Satan's claws'. This reveals his conviction in his own Election to Salvation. Calvinism taught that salvation was not based on piety or virtuous acts – as God is not obliged to save any because all are equally wicked, so his choice does not rest on faith or good works and those he chooses are 'neither better nor more worthy than others'.⁶⁴ Although salvation by Grace alone is not unique to Calvinism, they do place especial emphasis on it. Byron shows his understanding of this, noting that 'all the virtues and pious *Deeds* performed on Earth can never entitle a man to Everlasting happiness in a future state'.⁶⁵ In his infamous satirical work *Don Juan* there is a passage where election to Salvation is compared to medieval tax collection. Byron provocatively likens the elect to medieval landowners, 'granted Heaven's freeholds' because they are listed on an 'electoral roll' contained in a 'doomsday scroll'.⁶⁶ God is cast in the role of William the Conqueror, who oppressed the native Anglo-Saxon population. His decisions concerning salvation show profiteering avarice, rather than moral fibre.

When God has chosen His elect, He sends the Holy Spirit to open their eyes to the message of the Gospels.⁶⁷ Without this direct intervention they would remain blind to God and salvation. The Elect are not saved because they believe but believe because they are saved.⁶⁸ Scottish Calvinists taught that once you had attained election it could never be revoked. No matter what you did, you were the chosen of God and granted absolution for all your past and future sins, a constantly renewed state of Grace intimated by Watts' reference to 'daily'. This unconditional election resulted in Justification and it became the bedrock of Scottish Calvinism. Once you

⁶² 'Epistle to Augusta', St.2.

⁶³ *Giaour*, l.1058; *CHP* l.83; *CHP* IV.149; *Bride of Abydos* St.11,12; *Manfred* l.i.249.

⁶⁴ Article 7, from the Synod at Dort, cited in Hughes, 'Problem of Calvinism', pp.235-6.

⁶⁵ *BLJ* I.115.

⁶⁶ *DJ* X.35.

⁶⁷ *Institutes* 1.7.4, 3.2.11.

⁶⁸ For an example of this see R. Sibbes, *All Soules Conflict* (1635), p.323.

felt the inner calling of Election, which was one of the proofs of that Election, you were Justified and irrevocably saved.⁶⁹

Not all are lucky enough to receive redemption. The doctrine of Limited Atonement teaches that although Christ's sacrifice might have been efficacious for all, few are chosen by God for 'eternal life'.⁷⁰ The rest of humanity is 'doomed to destruction' by God's 'eternal and immutable pleasure'. These were the reprobate.⁷¹ Voltaire, much admired by Byron, offers an interesting metaphor for the apparent randomness of election and reprobation, the very flippancy of which reiterates the arbitrary nature of God's choices.⁷² He likens God to a man who makes 'an infinity of pots-de-chambre, and some golden vases; if you are a pots-de-chambre, so much the worse for you'.⁷³ These contrasting states are depicted in Byron's *Heaven and Earth*. Noah is the stern Calvinist patriarch, 'selected by Jehovah',⁷⁴ while Alobimah and her sister are the reprobate descendants of Cain, a 'fated race' doomed to damnation.⁷⁵ Japhet, 'son of the Saved', does not ask to be Elect nor does he wish it.⁷⁶ Yet rather like Cain, his fate has been arbitrarily decided for him and election, like reprobation, cannot be evaded.⁷⁷

Byron's awareness of the doctrine of Limited Atonement and transference of sin can be found in a long letter to Hodgson in which he condemns the 'injustice' of Christianity. Byron launches his attack on the grounds that only a cruel God would sacrifice His Son, 'the pure, the immaculate, the innocent', for the sins of others, arguing that it 'no more does away with man's guilt' than a schoolboy volunteering to be flogged instead of his friend would 'exculpate the dunce' from his own guilt. He argues that Anglican Protestants such as Hodgson 'degrade the Creator', converting him into a 'Tyrant' who lets his son be killed 'for the benefit of some millions of

⁶⁹ *Institutes* 2.3.13-14, 3.23.14, 3.2.15, 3.24.3-5, 3.21.7.

⁷⁰ *Institutes* 3.21.5. See also 1.7.4, 3.20, 3.24.5, 3.21.7, 3.2.11.

⁷¹ *Institutes* 3.21.7. See also 2.7.9, 3.4.32, 23.2, 1.3.2.

⁷² BLJ IV.139; BLJ V.45, 203, 199 (Byron's possession of the 92 Volume set of Voltaire's works); BLJ VI.77; VII.101, 103; Appendix 2, number 257; Appendix 3, number 313; also Appendix 1.

⁷³ *Philosophical Dictionary*, 22 vols (London: J & H L Hunt, 1824), III, p.395.

⁷⁴ *HE* II.104.

⁷⁵ *HE* II.94.

⁷⁶ *HE* I.iii.124.

⁷⁷ Noah berates Japhet because he would 'have God commit a sin' for him as 'such it would be / To alter his intent' and remit Japhet's election, *HE* I.iii.691-693.

scoundrels, who, after all, seem as likely to be damned as ever'.⁷⁸ This final comment underlines Byron's perception of the futility of Christ's agonizing demise, due to Calvinist Limited Atonement, the humorous tone barely concealing his anger. It also shows his disgust for the Calvinist depiction of God.

Just as God actively chooses the elect, so He chooses the reprobate and 'decreed the wicked workes of the wicked'. As the renowned protestant theologian, William Perkins (1558-1602) points out: 'if he had not willed them, they should never have bene'.⁷⁹ Milton's use of Calvin's theology is evident in the lines on Satan below:

High permission of all ruling heaven
Left him at large to his own dark designs
That with reiterated crimes he might
Heap on himself damnation.⁸⁰

Byron's understanding of this Calvinist concept is shown in *Cain* when God chooses Cain to fulfil his curse on mankind, deliberately contriving a scenario whereby Cain becomes a fratricidal murderer, thereby justifying God's curse of mortality and eternal damnation on mankind. A sermon published in Aberdeen in 1794 describes how God actively ensures reprobation by:

Insinuating sinful desires and inclinations into their hearts [...] abandoning them to the uncontrollable power and dominion of their own corruption.

The author perceived this turn of affairs as 'agreeable in every respect to the strictest rules of equity and justice'.⁸¹ It is hardly surprising that Byron found this attitude repulsive. After all, as will be shown, he felt driven to sympathise with the doomed reprobate, believing that he too was cursed with 'a fate, or will, that walked astray'.⁸²

Predestination is the theological term for 'unchangeable purpose of God' to elect some and damn others even before their birth.⁸³ As God is unchanging He could

⁷⁸ BLJ II.97.

⁷⁹ W. Perkins, *A golden chaine, or the description of theologie: containing the order of the causes of saluation and damnation, according to Gods woord* (1591), in Boulger, *Calvinist Temper*, p.73; *Institutes* 1.18.2, 3.23.2.

⁸⁰ PL I.212-219.

⁸¹ J. Bisset, *Sermon on Isaiah 6.9-12: The Profligacy and Incurability of Any Nation or People, a Sure Presage of Approaching Temporal Calamities* (Aberdeen: J Chalmers & Co, 1794), p.6.

⁸² 'Epistle to Augusta' St. 4. See also CHP I.83; BLJ I. 254; BLJ III.152, Countess Blessington, *Conversations of Lord Byron*, ed. E.J. Lovell (Princeton: PUP, 1969), p.172.

⁸³ Article 7, Synod at Dort, Hughes, p.236.

not make this decision on a day-by-day basis as and when people are conceived. Therefore He made a single, universal decision concerning each and every individual's fate based on his omniscient foreknowledge, rather like the White Queen in *Alice Through the Looking Glass*, who cries *before* she hurts herself. Scottish Calvinists are supralapsarians who believe this decision was made before the foundation of the world.⁸⁴ This contentious doctrine led many, including Byron, to question why God would make us when He knew we would be damned.⁸⁵

Cain provides a particularly interesting example of the issues surrounding Double Predestination. Cain is the first reprobate, condemned *before* the crime. Yet within the story Cain is obviously unaware of his fate. The appearance of Lucifer, the travels through space and everything that occurs while Lucifer is present is not in the Genesis narrative and so seems to offer a chance for Cain to evade his foreordained doom. However, after Lucifer leaves, the play returns to the Biblical tradition and all hopes of Cain escaping reprobation exit with him. With the line 'am I then my brother's keeper' to the angel,⁸⁶ Cain becomes the biblical reprobate, incapable of regaining God's grace and everlastingly cursed. Cain is an unusual Byronic hero in that he does not constantly brood on his guilty past, as he has yet to acquire one. However, he does feel guilt and the sense of melancholy often associated with guilt. Abel comments on the 'gloom upon' his brother's 'brow', which can be interpreted as a shadow of the Mark of Cain, branded on his forehead as a sign of divine displeasure and reprobation after his fratricide.⁸⁷ Cain's amorphous guilt is realised in Abel's death. These examples undermine Steffan and McGann's claims that Byron was not a believer in Original Sin or predestination and did nothing with them in his poetry.⁸⁸ In fact the reverse is true and he perceived himself as 'the slave of circumstances' willed by God.⁸⁹

⁸⁴ Hughes, 'Calvinism' pp.235-6.

⁸⁵ Kennedy, p.189; Blessington, p.78.

⁸⁶ *Cain* III.i.468-9.

⁸⁷ *Cain* I.i.53-55.

⁸⁸ T. Steffan, *Lord Byron's Cain* (London: University of Texas, 1968), p.27; J. McGann, *Fiery Dust: Byron's Poetic Development* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1968), pp.248-249.

⁸⁹ Kennedy, p.126.



Figure 7: Portrait of John Calvin.⁴

⁴ From W. Bouwsma, *John Calvin: A Sixteenth-Century Portrait* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), frontispiece.

Byron's Scotland: 'a dark repressive force'⁹⁰

Although Andrew Grieg's novel is set in modern-day Scotland, it describes a view of life which would have seemed familiar to Byron:

Scotland is a place where everyone explains what is not possible, that it'll all end in tears, we're here to make the best of a bad job then die and get a good rest till we're woken up to be informed that we're damned.⁹¹

This dour, fatalistic outlook with its entrenched pessimism and conviction of damnation was equally characteristic of eighteenth and nineteenth-century Scotland. The gloomy mentality is generally attributed to Scottish Calvinism, with its supralapsarian predestination and emphasis on the inevitability of sin and damnation. Fairchild's comprehensive examination of religion in English literature describes the 'grim and threatening' beliefs of the Calvinist, which were bequeathed, along with 'sombre-soul searching, to the eighteenth century'.⁹²

Calvinism in Britain is usually perceived as being in decline by the latter half of the eighteenth century; a spent force losing its hold over the minds of the masses. This was not the case in Scotland. The unusual amount of power held by the Church, combined with a nationalistic fervour identifying the Church with Scotland in the face of English control after the Unification, meant that Calvinism in Scotland did not suffer this 'weakening'.⁹³ In fact, there was a resurgence in the 1780s and 1790s characterised by a general increase in severity.⁹⁴ The Calvinism of Byron's day was actually stricter than that of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; rising traditionalism and a 'hardening of attitudes' permeated Byron's Scotland.⁹⁵ As Hilton points out, by the 1790s Scotland was the only place where predestination was still a fundamental doctrine.⁹⁶

⁹⁰ D. Macleod, 'Scottish Calvinism: A Dark Repressive Force?', pp.226-256.

⁹¹ A. Greig, *In Another Light* (London: Phoenix, 2005), p.184.

⁹² H. Fairchild, *Religious Trends in English Poetry*, 4 vols (New York: Columbia, University Press, 1942), I, p.545.

⁹³ D.W. Howe, 'The Decline of Calvinism: an Approach to its Study', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 14, (1972), p.306.

⁹⁴ H. May, 'The Decline of Providence', *SVEC*, 154, (1976), p.1412.

⁹⁵ P. Garside, 'Introduction', *The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2001), p.xxvii.

⁹⁶ B. Hilton, *The Age of Atonement, the Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought, 1795-1865* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), p.8; A. Allan, *Scotland in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Longman, 2002).

The Ettrick Shepherd-poet James Hogg's novel *Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner* describes Scottish Calvinism as creating 'the most severe and gloomy of all bigots to the principles of the Reformation', preaching 'an unguent hard to be swallowed'.⁹⁷ Although written after Byron's death, *Confessions* provides a useful example of the negative aspects of Scottish Calvinism. Moreover, Byron had acted as a sort of patron for Hogg, viewing him as 'a man of great powers and deserving of encouragement'.⁹⁸ This provides an added layer of interaction which justifies the use of *Confessions* as a prime example in this work. That Byron grew up during a period of unusual severity in the Scottish Church would inevitably contribute to his abhorrence of its doctrines and his aversion towards its adherents.

This would have been exacerbated by his hatred of what he perceived as the hypocrisy and malicious spite of devout Calvinists. The Church of Scotland was not a single unified body. As with Calvinism itself, there were a number of splits; when a faction's theology or politics differed enough from the mainstream doctrines they Seceded from the Church. This resulted in numerous groups: the Covenanters, the Federal Theologians, the Presbyterians, the Evangelicals, the Episcopalians, the Auld Licht, the New Licht, and so on.⁹⁹ Sometimes the factions seemed virtually indistinguishable, yet they were vicious in their denunciations of each other.¹⁰⁰ Charles Churchill, a poet much admired by Byron,¹⁰¹ mocks these constant splits in his poem 'The Conference'. He attacks the reasons behind these divisions, describing how the groups 'with false feigned zeal an injured God defend, / And use his name for some base private end'. Robert Burns, another favourite of Byron, also wrote condemnatory poetry.¹⁰² In particular, his poem 'The Twa Herds' depicts two squabbling ministers who neglect their congregations. Despite espousing messages of mercy and tolerance, such factions are accurately described by Byron as 'the seventy-

⁹⁷ Hogg, *Confessions*, p.2.

⁹⁸ BLJ IV.151; also BLJ IV.84-86, 152, 165-167; BLJ V.13, 37-38; BLJ VII.200; BLJ VIII.219; also G. Hughes, 'Native Energy: Byron and Hogg as Scottish Poets', *BJ*, 34, (2006), p. 133-142.

⁹⁹ A. Drummond and J. Bulloch, *The Scottish Church 1688-1843, the Age of the Moderates* (Edinburgh: St Andrews Press, 1973), pp.27, 150.

¹⁰⁰ Drummond and Bulloch, *Scottish Church*, pp.7-9.

¹⁰¹ For more on Byron and Churchill see the Appendix 1; Appendix 2, number 68; Appendix 3, number 64; Byron also wrote the poem 'Churchill's Grave' which describes Churchill as 'a comet' inspiring 'awe' who was the 'most famous writer in his day'.

¹⁰² Byron praised Burns for his 'nobility of thought' and the 'antithetical' nature of his mind which combined 'soaring and grovelling dirt and deity'. BLJ VIII. 93; BLJ III. 239. See also BLJ III.114, 202. 207; BLJ IV.56; BLJ XIII.31; Appendix 1; Appendix 3, numbers 40 and 199.



Figure 8: Churchill's Grave in Dover. Byron's admiration for the poet caused him to visit the grave to pay his respects.⁵

⁵ From C. Cable Brown, *Charles Churchill: Poet Rake and Rebel*, p.86.

two villainous sects who are tearing each other to pieces for love of the Lord and hatred of each other'.¹⁰³

Byron's antipathy was not reserved solely for the squabbling sects, but directed at their enforcers, the Kirks. The Kirks are the Church police, sitting in judgement over minor infractions and referring contentious issues up to the Presbyteries and Synods.

Owing to the unusual power and influence of the Church in Scotland, the Kirks often assumed civil as well as religious jurisdiction, punishing even the most minor transgressions with extreme severity. Knox described the purpose of the Kirks as 'reproving and correcting of the faults which the civil sword either doth neglect or not punish'.¹⁰⁴ This arguably resulted in an extremely repressive society which rigidly enforced all aspects of Calvinist doctrine.

A 1712 pamphlet from Aberdeen contains an intimidatingly comprehensive condemnation of wickedness, including:

Much Uncleanliness and Filthiness, Adultery, Fornication, Incest, Bestiality, Sodomy, Lasciviousness, Promiscuous Dancing, Stage-Players, excessive Drinking, Vanity in Apparel, and the Like abomination Unchastity and the Incentives to it.¹⁰⁵

However, it is in Scottish literature that the most vivid illustrations of the repressive power of the Kirks can be found. There are a number of examples with which Byron was familiar, such as the aforementioned *Confessions* by Hogg,¹⁰⁶ and Galt's *Annals of the Parish* which contains entries where plays, card games and dancing are banned.¹⁰⁷ Incidentally, Craig notes, historians often claim that 'Galt's *Annals of the*

¹⁰³ BLJ II.89.

¹⁰⁴ J. Knox, *First Book of Discipline*, ed. D. Laing (Edinburgh : James Thin, 1895), pp.165-66. For more on Kirk development and history see *Evans' Sketch of the Various Denominations of the Christian World*, ed. J. Bransby (London: Longman & Co, 1841), p.138.

¹⁰⁵ Anon., *The National Covenant and Solemn League and Covenant and Engagement to Duties* ([Aberdeen?]: 1712).

¹⁰⁶ Hogg, p.7. For more on Byron and Hogg, see JMA MS.43448 and MS.42305; also A. Nicholson ed., *The Letters of John Murray to Lord Byron* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2007), pp. 110-112.

¹⁰⁷ J. Galt, *Annals of the Parish* (Edinburgh: John Grant, 1936), pp.177, 231. Byron owned a copy, see Appendix 4, number 88 and according to Lady Blessington, he 'praised the *Annals of the Parish* very highly', p. 64. For more on Galt's relationship with Byron see BLJ II.156, 164; BLJ III.57, 195, 196;

Parish is as valuable as any history or statistical account', so its gloom-inducing descriptions of the repressive strictures are presumably accurate.¹⁰⁸ There are also various novels by Scott, such as *The Heart of Midlothian* which condemns the dreadful devilishness of dancing and drinking.¹⁰⁹ Graham's tables of the 'Disciplinary Cases from Scottish Kirk Sessions' show that sexuality, politics, violence, disobedience, magic, religious dissent, dancing and drinking all resulted in punishment.¹¹⁰ This Calvinist prudery had an effect on Byron, seen in his condemnation of dancing in *The Waltz* where he primly censures 'Hands which may freely range in public sight' and 'wakes to wantonness the willing limbs'.¹¹¹ These lines project a similar sense of prudish disapproval to that in the above passage from the pamphlet.

Fornication was the main transgression dealt with by the Kirks. Robin Urquhart, the curator of the Scottish National Church Archives refers to the Presbytery records as containing nothing but 'fornication, fornication, fornication'.¹¹² Certainly the Aberdeen Presbytery records would support this.¹¹³ In *The Heart of the Midlothian*, when Scott's character Effie Deans, an unmarried girl, loses her baby and is charged with fornication and murder, her father, a Calvinist minister, actually disowns her and she is condemned to hang.¹¹⁴ On a non-fictional note, Robert Burns was charged with fornication after impregnating his mother's maid, Betsey, and was

BLJ XIII. 19. Also JMA MS.45361 and MS.43427 as well as MacCarthy, *Byron*, p.97. Byron owned various other works by Galt, see Appendix 2, number 141.

¹⁰⁸ D. Craig, *Scottish Literature and the Scottish People* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1961), p.144. There is also a long section on *Heart of Midlothian* and religion, pp.166-173.

¹⁰⁹ W. Scott, *Heart of the Midlothian* (Edinburgh: EUP, 2004), p.88. For Byron's awareness of *Heart* see BLJ VII. 45-58; BLJ VIII. 13, 30; BLJ IX. 87, 46. and Appendix 1.

¹¹⁰ M.F. Graham, 'Social Discipline in Scotland, 1560-1610' in *Sin and the Calvinists, Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies*, ed. R.A. Mentzer (Truman: State University Press, 2002), pp. 136-137. See also Drummond and Bulloch, *Scottish Church*, pp. 70-78.

¹¹¹ *The Waltz* ll. 115, 38.

¹¹² Email, private correspondence 24 December, 2008.

¹¹³ The first entry for 1788, the year Byron was born, is that of 'Margaret Knowles, an unmarried woman in that parish' who had 'accused Robert Jamison, a married man, as father of a child that she had born' and details their subsequent punishments for adultery, 6 February, 1788, CH2/1/10, Scottish Church Documents.

¹¹⁴ *The Heart of the Midlothian*, pp.44, 88. For more on Scott and Byron's relationship see T. Guiccioli *Recollections of Lord Byron*, 2 vols (London: Richard Bentley, 1869), I, pp. 332-1335; Medwin, pp.163-166; JMA MS. 42305; BLJ II. 20.



Figure 9: The Trial of Effie Deans, by Frederick Bromley, from Scott's *Heart of Midlothian*.⁶

⁶ From the British Museum.

punished by his Kirk. In a poem on the subject, he describes himself as ‘a proven Fornicator’.¹¹⁵

Given the severity of punishment for indulging in pleasurable pastimes, it is hardly surprising that the Scottish Church would greet ‘the crime of blasphemie’ with death.¹¹⁶ One example is that of eighteen year old Thomas Aitkinhead who, despite recanting his views, was tried and hanged in 1696.¹¹⁷ On hearing of his death, the Calvinist minister Alexander Findlater wrote that ‘I think G[od] was glorified by such an awful and exemplary punishment’.¹¹⁸ The notion of God glorying in death is not a comfortable one, though it does reflect the Calvinist belief in the God of retributive justice. Wordsworth, the standard bearer of Romanticism, could be viewed as a prime example of this vindictive Christianity. In his work on capital punishment, Canuel notes that despite condemning capital punishment in his early works, Wordsworth’s later poems, such as ‘Sonnets upon the Punishment of Death’, 1841, argue that killing people actually imitates and glorifies God.¹¹⁹ It raises the question of what kind of God one believes one is worshipping if murders contribute to His glory.

Byron believed that ‘a Seat of eternal punishment’ was wholly ‘incompatible with the benign attributes of a Deity’.¹²⁰ Many devout Calvinists were equally unable to reconcile the inevitability of damnation and limited atonement with an omnibenevolent God.¹²¹ The Arminian doctrine of Universal Atonement, originally proposed by Jakob Arminius, 1560-1609, argued that Christ’s sacrifice was efficacious for all, available to everyone who chose to believe and wanted to be saved.¹²² It became increasingly popular throughout this period. Byron’s own struggle

¹¹⁵ ‘The Fornicator’, St. 1. See D. Mason, ‘Robert Burns: Inspired Clay’, *Hudson Review*, 62, (2009), pp. 247-258.

¹¹⁶ The 1661 Act demanded death for this and all who ‘rail upon or curse God’, while the 1695 Act added a corollary which included any who questioned the Scriptures or providence, A. Gordon, *Heresy, its Ancient Wrongs and Modern Rights in these Kingdoms* (London: Lindsay Press, 1913), pp.34-36.

¹¹⁷ Drummond and Bulloch, *Scottish Church*, p.14.

¹¹⁸ A. Hunter, ‘Aitkinhead the Atheist: the Context and Consequences of Articulate irreligion in the late Seventeenth Century’, in *Atheism from the Reformation to the Enlightenment*, eds. M. Hunter and D. Wootton (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p.221.

¹¹⁹ *The Shadow of Death: Literature, Romanticism and the Subject of Punishment* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007) p.3

¹²⁰ BLJ I.115.

¹²¹ E.R. Briggs, ‘Mysticism and Rationalism in the Debate upon Eternal Punishment’, *SVEC*, 24, (1963), p.247; see also fn.17.

¹²² J.M. Atkins, ‘Calvinist Bishops, Church Unity and the Rise of Arminianism’, *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, 18, (1986), pp. 411-427.

to reconcile Omnibenevolence with predestined damnation was therefore characteristic of Calvinists at that time. He would have been aware of Arminianism from a variety of sources.¹²³

Arminianism arose in response to a peculiar variant of Justified election, Antinomianism, resulting from Scottish supralapsarianism. 'Antinomian' means 'enemy of the law'. Based on the notion that as God had foreordained one's election, and had done so knowing the entirety of one's life then *every* action, even the sinful ones, were technically approved by Him. Some argued that those sins were willed by God, part of His grand plan, and therefore were not sins at all whatever the civil laws might state. Antinomianism gave rise to the concept of Justification - the Justified might have sinned in the eyes of Man and Law, but not in the eyes of God. One Scottish tract, by the Rev. Traill, describes the Scottish Antinomian belief that 'a law-condemned sinner is freely justified by God's grace, through the redemption that is Jesus Christ'.¹²⁴ The existence of such a tract, and its republication in 1828, shows Justification was still a pertinent issue in Scotland, even after Byron's death.

Convinced of their own election and equally convinced of everyone else's irrevocable inferiority and sinfulness, it is hardly surprising that Justified Antinomians are vilified in literature as the very worst sort of Calvinist. Hogg's *Confessions* is one of the most sustained literary attacks on Antinomianism. His character Reverend Wringham draws attention to the above issue when he argues that 'to the wicked all things are wicked, but to the just all things are just and right', pointing out that any evil he does was ordained by God and therefore not actually wicked.¹²⁵ There is an interesting passage by Wringham that vividly describes the sense of superiority felt by these Justified elect:

An exultation of the spirit lifted me [...] far above the earth and the sinful creatures crawling on its surface; and I deemed myself as an eagle among the children of men, soaring on high, and looking down with pity and contempt on the grovelling creatures below.¹²⁶

¹²³ The largest source would have been *GHCD*, I, 'Arminius'.

¹²⁴ R. Traill, *A Vindication of the Protestant Doctrine Concerning Justification and of its Preachers and Professors, from the Unjust Charges of Antinomianism* (Perth: Morrison, 1828), p.7.

¹²⁵ Hogg, *Confessions*, pp.11, 15.

¹²⁶ Hogg, *Confessions*, p.80.

The marked contrast between spiritual exultation and derisive scorn is extremely compelling. After all, spiritual exultation is normally associated with the truly devout, the saints and prophets of God. Wringham's contempt for his fellow men demonstrates his utter lack of true Christian feeling. Scott's *Heart of Midlothian* contains an alternative depiction of Antinomianism as a sort of religious fanaticism, describing the real murderers of Cardinal Beaton and the fictional killers of Porteous as believing that 'the work about which they went was a judgement of Heaven which, although unsanctioned by the usual authorities, ought to be proceeded with in order and gravity' because their 'righteous anger' had been stirred up deliberately by heaven.¹²⁷

Byron deplored the 'pride of superior righteousness' that led the elect to condemn rather than pity.¹²⁸ The cruel God of Calvinism punished non-believers. The stern Calvinist Government does the same, as the various Acts and Kirk punishments show. In *Cain*, Lucifer criticises those who use 'tyrannous threats to force you into faith'.¹²⁹ This could be read as a denunciation of the Calvinist emphasis on the punitive stick rather than the bribing carrot. In *Manfred* Byron expresses his disgust for those who wish to condemn their fellow men, having the protagonist proudly state that:

I shall not choose
A mortal to be my mediator, have I sinn'd
Against your ordinances? Prove and punish.¹³⁰

Watkins describes the Kirk system as promoting 'a rigidly authoritarian power structure that justifies tyranny by religious sanctioning'.¹³¹ Byron loathed the mentality of Protestantism, encouraged by the Kirk system in Scotland, but also present in 'tight little' England.¹³² He condemned the 'severity of morals [that] punishes so heavily any derelictions from propriety' that 'each individual, to prove personal correctness, was compelled to attack the sins of his or her acquaintance'.¹³³

¹²⁷ Scott, *Heart of Midlothian*, pp.54, 62.

¹²⁸ Blessington, p. 88.

¹²⁹ II.ii.462.

¹³⁰ *Manfred* III.i.54-56; similar views can be found in the concluding stanzas of 'Prayer of Nature'.

¹³¹ D.P. Watkins, 'Politics and Religion', p.32.

¹³² BLJ VII.50.

¹³³ Blessington, p.29.



Figure 10: Number 10 Queen's Street, Aberdeen, where Byron lived with his mother.⁷

⁷ Morgan, p.68.

‘Hymns, harplings and self-seeking prayers’: Byron’s Calvinists¹³⁴

A particularly useful expression of Byron’s complex and uneasy relationship with Calvinism, Calvinists and their tyrannical God can be found below:

I abhor all books of Religion, though I reverence and love my God, without the blasphemous notions of the sectaries, or a belief in their absurd and damnable Heresies, Mysteries and thirty-nine articles.¹³⁵

Despite his many denunciations Byron did not hate God. However he did hate the Calvinist depiction of God, criticising what he saw as the ‘inhuman humanity’ of Calvinism’,¹³⁶ which had created a Religion which ‘clothes itself in anger’.¹³⁷ He concluded that ‘human passions have probably disfigured the divine doctrines’.¹³⁸ He saw the clergy as corrupt and power-hungry, their religion a tool of repression, prohibiting individual thought and Reason.¹³⁹ Byron condemns the laity for their veneer of piety, their ‘self-seeking prayers’ hiding sanctimonious spite. The existence of such views in his poetry is proved by the numerous clerical attacks. Clergymen would not have had access to Byron’s letters and conversations – their articles and sermons denouncing his impiety are based on his poetry alone.¹⁴⁰

Byron loathed the hypocrisy of Calvinists, perceiving them as ‘a malignant race with Christianity in their mouths and Molochism in their hearts’.¹⁴¹ It is hardly surprising that he held such unfavourable views, given the examples he had from his earliest childhood. The nurse May Gray, despite being a devout Calvinist, not only appears to have sexually abused the nine year old Byron, ‘playing tricks upon [his] person’, but also went out drinking and carousing when his mother was away.¹⁴² Byron’s seduction of Lady Frances Webster provides another example of his personal experience of the hypocrisy of the pious. She exchanged notes and gifts with Byron

¹³⁴ *Cain* I.i.387.

¹³⁵ Appendix 1.

¹³⁶ BLJ IX.45; Blessington, p.104.

¹³⁷ Blessington, p.88.

¹³⁸ BLJ IX. 45; Teresa also comments on this tendency of Byron’s to attack false virtue which cloaks vice and corruption, I, p. 56.

¹³⁹ *DJ* X. 24.

¹⁴⁰ BLJ X138; BLJ IX.100; *DJ* XIV.10; also *The Romantics Reviewed – Contemporary Reviews of British Romantic Writers*, 9 vols (London: Garland Publishing 1972), II.

¹⁴¹ Marchand, *Byron a Biography*, I , p.138.

¹⁴² *Ibid*, p.57; BLJ I.40.

under her husband's nose, yet was 'a thorough devotee – [who] takes prayers morning and evening – besides being measured for a new Bible every quarter'.¹⁴³

Byron can be seen as writing within a literary tradition which criticised the self-righteous intolerance of some Calvinists. Even that literary mainstay of the Protestant faith, *Pilgrim's Progress*, constantly warns against the pseudo-morality and counterfeit piety in the form of characters such as Mr Hypocrisy, Mr Vaingood and Lord Justice Hategood.¹⁴⁴ Romantic writers such as Peacock, Blake and Shelley wrote vicious denunciations of the 'fraudful tenure of a powerful few',¹⁴⁵ who have 'fenced about all crime with holiness' using the name of God.¹⁴⁶ There is a strong literary tradition in both Scottish and Romantic literature, and Byron's attacks can be placed within both.

Stavrou argues that the reason behind Byron's preference for the OT was due to his hatred of hypocrisy – he found it more honest in its violence, whereas although the NT preaches Love and Mercy it displays vengefulness and intolerance.¹⁴⁷ Byron condemned this blood-thirsty bigotry:

Instead of lamenting the disbelief, or pitying the transgressions (or at least their consequences) of the sinner, they at once cast him off, dwell with acrimony on his errors, and, not content with foredooming him to eternal punishment hereafter, endeavour, [...] to render his earthly existence as painful as possible.¹⁴⁸

This seems to be a remarkably unchristian Christianity. The misery of the reprobate, whose 'earthly existence' is an agony of anticipative terror, will be examined in Section Two. Here the focus is on Byron's perception of the acrimonious attitudes of the self-righteous elect.

¹⁴³ BLJ III.137-138; BLJ IX.81 contains another example where a starving thief steals a wafer from the Church and is burnt at the stake. Byron is extremely scathing of this 'piece of piety'.

¹⁴⁴ *PP*, Part One, pp. 240, 212 *inter alia*.

¹⁴⁵ Peacock, 'Ahrimanes', Canto I, st.11 in Young, 'Peacock and Ahrimanes'. Blake's 'Garden of Love', 'Vision of the Daughters of Albion', *Book of Urizen*, *French Revolution* and various others express similar sentiments.

¹⁴⁶ *Queen Mab* VII.23-25.

¹⁴⁷ Stavrou, p.583.

¹⁴⁸ Blessington, pp.67-68. This scepticism towards clergy is not limited to Byron. Gibbon, Peacock, Blake and Shelley all target the corruption of Anglican Protestant clerics. For example, Shelley's 'An Address to the Irish People', 1812, and 'A Letter to Lord Ellenborough', *The Prose Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, ed. E.B. Murray (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), pp.13, 64; Blake's 'Garden of Earthly Delights' and Peacock's *Letters*.



Figure 11: *The Deluge* by Francis Danby, from The Tate.

Byron examines this topic in 'The Prayer of Nature', attacking the 'bigots' and 'superstition' which have trapped the 'Father of Light' in 'Gothic domes of mouldering stone', leaving the priests free to pursue their 'sable reign'. This displays Byron's belief in a Good God and bad clergy. The notion of the clergy as having a 'sable reign' raises various points. Firstly the negative connotations of 'sable' linked with its dark colour, intimate iniquity and repression, as well as night-time darkness and potential deceit. This is reinforced by the fact that sable is expensive, adding a secondary implication of corruption with nuances of greed at odds with the pious abstinence associated with devout Men of God. The word 'reign' could be seen as a reference to the unusual amount of power which the Church wielded in Scotland. It also reminds readers of the prevailing Radical views which argued that the Church supported State to gain more power over the masses. In a series of rhetorical questions, Byron questions original sin, reprobation and election, asking 'Shall man condemn his race to hell' and 'shall each pretend to reach the skies, / Yet doom his brother to expire'. Stanza nine has a particularly apposite denunciation of Antinomian Justification:

Shall those, who live for self alone,
Whose years float on in daily crime –
Shall they by Faith for guilt atone,
And live beyond the bounds of Time?

The rhetorical questions, the short verses in iambic tetrameter and the simple rhymes convey the impression of a child's questioning. As with so many children's questions, these seem unanswerable. This is striking as the lack of answer underscores the doctrinal contradictions for the reader, while the child-like questioning style emphasises the obviousness of these inconsistencies. After all if even a child questions the central precepts of Calvinism and the morality of its adherents, there must be something wrong, particularly if there is no reply defending the elect.

Another, often neglected, poem is the *Curse of Minerva*, written in 1811 but subsequently suppressed by Byron. It contains some 'lines on ye scotch',¹⁴⁹ in which Scotland and the Scottish are portrayed as intertwined, the 'barren soil' creating

¹⁴⁹ BLJ II. 136.

barren souls, the one empty of life, the other of virtue and empathy. The ‘stern sterility’ of the landscape ‘can stint the mind’. The ‘niggard earth’ is a fitting ‘Emblem of all to whom the land gives birth’. It is a ‘land of meanness, sophistry and mist’ which forms people whose minds are ‘Foul as their soil, and frigid as their snows’.¹⁵⁰ The grudging, parsimonious connotations of ‘niggard’ and the intolerant, unforgiving implications of ‘stern sterility’ create a truly unflattering impression of Scottish Calvinists. When combined with the actual descriptions of the inhabitants, the reader would be forgiven for perceiving Scotland as populated by the worst people imaginable. The poem denounces Calvinist morality as a blight on the fertile soil of natural human goodness. The description of a land of ‘sophistry and mist’ could be seen as a direct reference to the Church of Scotland, with its complex tangle of doctrines, riven by arguing sects. ‘Mist’ could be seen as referring to the clouding effect of religion on the brain, fogging reason and obscuring truth – a recurrent motif in Byron’s poetry, addressed later in this work.

In *Cain*, Cain attacks Abel because his ‘God loves blood’.¹⁵¹ This is the key reason behind Byron’s repudiation of Calvinism and Calvinists. He cannot understand why people would worship such a Being, let alone deliberately create one through the torturous complexity of their doctrines. In the ‘pious’ drama *Heaven and Earth*, Noah and his family represent ‘the unthinking doctrinaire spirit’ of Calvinism whose ‘rigidity’ Byron roundly condemns.¹⁵² Byron cannot understand why anyone would venerate a God who massacres everyone.¹⁵³ Alobihmah could be expressing Byron’s incomprehension when she asks how Noah and his family can praise the deluge, simply because it is willed by God.¹⁵⁴ Cain voices a similar disbelief in the face of Adam’s blind acceptance of God’s word and faith that ‘T’was his will, / And he is good’.¹⁵⁵ Byron’s disapproval of the unforgiving mindset of Calvinists – reactions such as those of Alexander Findlater and the Protestant Wordsworth – can also be seen in Canto I of *Don Juan*:

¹⁵⁰ *The Curse of Minerva* St. 9.

¹⁵¹ *Cain* III.i.310.

¹⁵² BLJ IX.59; J. McGann, ‘Orthodoxy and Unorthodoxy in *Heaven and Earth*’, in *Plays of Lord Byron: Critical Essays* eds. B. Beatty and R. Gleckner (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1997), p.292; D.P. Watkins, ‘Politics and Religion in Byron’s *Heaven and Earth*’, pp.30-39; G. Spence, ‘Byron, Enoch, Calvin and the Deluge’, *BJ*, 27, (1999), pp. 66-75.

¹⁵³ Spence, ‘Deluge’, pp. 66-75.

¹⁵⁴ *HE* I.iii. 885-889.

¹⁵⁵ *Cain* I.i.76-77.

Christians have burnt each other, quite persuaded

That all Apostles would have done as they did.¹⁵⁶

Byron's scathing tone reveals his disgust for this unchristian intolerance, and he questions how Calvinists can claim their God is good and just when they openly acknowledge that executions glorify Him?

Byron was not alone in his condemnation of the hypocrisy of Calvinists and the brutality of their God; a number of theological treatises deplored this aspect of Calvinism.¹⁵⁷ There was also a great deal of criticism in literature, both Scottish and English. The violent attacks against Calvinists in the poetry of Robert Burns are particularly pertinent given Byron's appreciation of Burns' poetry.¹⁵⁸ It is in the poem 'Holy Willie's Prayer' that Burns allows himself full vituperative expression of his antagonism against the smug sanctimony of the justified elect:

O Thou, wha in Heavens dost dwell,

Wha, as it pleases best thyself,

Sens ane to heaven and ten to hell,

A' for thy glory

And no for ony guid or ill

They've done afore thee!

The opening lines of the poem hint that God selfishly determines election based on His own Glory alone, and not on the relative sinfulness of the individual. However, the lines are not openly antagonistic – this could merely be an unbiased statement of doctrine. In the next verse, Burns has 'Holy Willie' praise God for condemning countless people to suffering while raising him up:

I bless and praise thy matchless might,

Whan thousands thou hast left in night,

That here I am afore thy sight.

¹⁵⁶ DJI.83.

¹⁵⁷ For a detailed examination of this see earlier footnotes and also the discussion of Arminius; M. Vovelle, *The Revolution Against the Church: From Reason to the Supreme Being*, trans. A. Jose (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991); while a contemporary example can be found in A. Anderson trans., *The Treatise of the Three Imposters and the Problem of the Enlightenment* (Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield, 1997); also the aforementioned *Scripture Doctrine of Original Sin* by Taylor; also fn. 17.

¹⁵⁸ D. Erdman, 'Byron and the New Force of People', *The Keats-Shelley Journal*, 9, (1962), p. 54; Mason, 'Burns', pp. 247-258; JMA MS.43358.

But yet—O— I— confes I must—
 At times I'm dash'd wi' fleshly lust;
 And sometimes too, in worldly trust
 The self gets in,
 But thou remembers we are dust
 Defil'd wi' sin —
 O— I— yestern— thou kens— wi' May—
 Thy pardon I sincerely beg;
 I may't ne'er be a living plague,
 To my dishonor!
 And I'll ne'er lift a lawless leg
 Gain upon her: —
 Besides, I farther mairn awa,
 W' George's lafs, three times— I strow—
 But O— I, that Friday I was fou
 Then I cam near her;
 Or else, thou kens, thy servant true
 Had never stee'd her: —
 Maybe thou lets this fleshly thorn
 Buffet thy servant e'en & morn,
 But he o'er proud & high should turn,
 That he's sae gifted;
 If sae, thy hand mairn e'en be boyned;
 Until thou lift it: —

Figure 12: 'Holy Willie's Prayer' in Burn's own hand.⁸

⁸ From I. McIntyre, *Dirt and Deity*, frontispiece.

It seems slightly sycophantic to praise God for causing misery, yet Willie could simply be giving thanks for his own salvation, not actively revelling in the condemnation of others. As the poem progresses, Burns depicts an increasingly unpleasant and self-righteous undercurrent in Willie's words when he criticises others for drinking and dancing, claiming he never does, while the next verses list his persistent fornication:

May be thou lets this fleshly thorn
Beset thy servant e'en and morn
Lest he owre high and proud should turn
That he's sae gifted.¹⁵⁹

These lines come immediately after those concerning his sexual conquests and it is interesting that Willie argues that his succumbing to lust is actually all part of the will of God in order that he not feel smug about his election to eternal salvation. This caricature of Justification belittles Antinomian arguments, particularly in the subsequent verses in which Willie calls down God's vengeance on everyone. The pettiness of this action is accentuated by the contrast between Willie's adulterous fornication and his request for God to blight the vegetables of Hamilton, Burns' Landlord, whose only crime is popularity. It is important to remember that, like Byron and Bunyan, Burns does not mock true religious faith merely the false religion of those who 'take religion in their mouth only'.¹⁶⁰

'I never arraigned his creed but the use and abuse made of it'¹⁶¹

Byron, like many of his time, saw religion as a tool of oppression, subjugating the masses, enforcing ignorance and obedience in equal measures. Calvinism is not a true reflection of the Word of God, merely 'notorious abuses' of His name and 'the mind of man', conceived so that greedy tyrants may attain and retain power. A number of his poems denounce 'the abuses which have crept into church establishments',¹⁶² in

¹⁵⁹ 'Holy Willie's Prayer', *The Poetical Works of Robert Burns* (London: Henry Frowde, 1896); BLJ III. 92.

¹⁶⁰ Robert Burns, cited in D. Smith, *God, the Poet and the Devil: Robert Burns and Religion* (Edinburgh: St Andrews Press, 2008), p.44.

¹⁶¹ *DJ* XVII.18, fn. 1.

¹⁶² Kennedy, p. 136.

particular the characters of Prometheus and Lucifer, as well as the narrator in *Childe Harold* Canto IV and of course the 'impious' *Don Juan*.¹⁶³

However, let us start with *Heaven and Earth*, where the Angel's criticism of Noah's intolerance intimates that Heaven does not approve of Calvinist bigotry, implying that the Calvinist God is not the true God.¹⁶⁴ Byron's Italian mistress, Teresa Guiccioli, suggested that he 'believes in God' but not 'that which is taught by the Christian doctrine'.¹⁶⁵ This view of Christians (Calvinists in particular) as worshipping a false God frequently appears in Byron's poetry. However, Byron also seems to attack Catholics. In *Childe Harold* Canto II Byron criticises the 'Foul Superstition' disguised as 'Idol, saint, virgin, prophet, crescent, cross' and asks 'Who from true worship's gold can separate thy dross?'.¹⁶⁶ This vehement denunciation of the classic attributes of Roman Catholicism ends on a note of hopelessness, reluctantly concluding that no one is capable of discerning the true God. Byron describes the Catholic Church as a 'Babylonian Whore', so rich and 'glorious' that 'men forgot the blood that she hath spilt' and worship the 'Pomp that loves to varnish guilt'.¹⁶⁷ He deplores the shallow blindness of men who venerate gold and power and hints at the bloody history of Christianity. The frequent references to wealth imply that the religion is avaricious as well as blood thirsty – again signalling the hypocrisy of the Catholic Church. Mary Shelley, a close friend of Byron's from 1816 onwards, was equally vociferous in her condemnations of the Catholic Church, most notably in her 1824 short story 'The Bride of Modern Italy' which blames the protagonist's flaws on the 'Catholic religion which crushes the innate conscience by giving a false one in its room; the system of artifice and heartlessness'.¹⁶⁸ *Valperga* is also

¹⁶³ BLJ VII. 60 n.1. Owing to Stavrou's comprehensive examination of the depiction of religion in *DJ*, highlighting the hypocrisy and corruption of the Church and its clergy, the epic will not be included in this discussion.

¹⁶⁴ HE I. iii.764-769.

¹⁶⁵ Guiccioli, I, p.137.

¹⁶⁶ CHP II.44.

¹⁶⁷ CHP I.29. Many of Coleridge's works from the 1790s condemn the 'Idolatry of Popery', as in his letter of the December 1802, cited in Neville, *Coleridge and Liberal Religious Thought*, (London: IB Tauris, 2001), pp.12-14. Byron echoes these sentiments here. In particular, Coleridge's *Religious Musings*, *Notebooks II* and *Aids to Reflection* are extremely anti-Catholic; see also M. Murphy, 'Coleridge and Atheism in the 1790s', *Coleridge Bulletin*, 11, (1998), pp.48-60; Blake is equally condemnatory of Catholic corruption, as can be seen in his depictions of the Parisian clergy in *The French Revolution*; a similarly unflattering depiction can be found in Byron's friend Matthew Lewis' famous gothic novel *The Monk*.

¹⁶⁸ Taken from *Collected Tales*, ed. C.E. Robinson (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press), p.34.

extremely anti-catholic, superficially at least, although Schliefelbein argues otherwise.¹⁶⁹

In *Cain*, the Calvinist God Jehovah conspires with His ministers to ensure that His worshippers remain trapped in the 'Paradise of 'Ignorance' and superstition. This reading is supported by Lucifer's statement that:

One good gift has the fatal apple given –
Your reason:- let it not be over-sway'd
By tyrannous threats to force you into faith
'Gainst all external-sense and inward feeling.¹⁷⁰

The 'tyrannous threats' could be seen as the Calvinist warnings of damnation, yet if one uses one's Reason, they are revealed as the empty menaces of a false religion by those who worship a false god. Lucifer encourages Cain to express his doubts concerning the disparity between what he 'saw' and what he 'heard' by arguing that those 'who see the truth, must speak it'.¹⁷¹ Reason is a significant term for Byron, who frequently depicts it as the opponent of blind faith and false superstitions. *Childe Harold* provides the most vehement expression of this conviction that religion is a tissue of lies that should be revealed and reviled. To remain in its chains is 'a base / Abandonment of reason'. Religion and its false God have stunted people's minds, imprisoning 'the faculty divine' which:

Is chain'd and tortured – cabin'd, cribb'd, confined,
And bred in darkness, lest the truth should shine
Too brightly.¹⁷²

These lines, adapted from *Othello*,¹⁷³ express the concept of the oppression of religion by creating a sense of cramped imprisonment. The contractions reinforce this feeling of confinement - there isn't even room for the 'e', and it is a potent portrayal of the subjugation of reason. The concept of something being 'bred in darkness' evokes disgust and outrage – nothing should be trapped away from all light, let alone reason

¹⁶⁹ M. Schliefelbein, "'Lessons of True Religion': Mary Shelley's Tribute to Catholicism in *Valperga*", *Religion and Literature*, 30, (1998), pp.59-79.

¹⁷⁰ *Cain* II.ii.459-462.

¹⁷¹ *Cain* I.i.168-169, 240.

¹⁷² *CHP* IV.128.

¹⁷³ Byron quotes the 'cabbined, cribbed' line in BLJ IV. 226, and frequently refers to *Othello* throughout his letters: BLJ IV.104, 178, 181; BLJ IX.165; BLJ X.32.

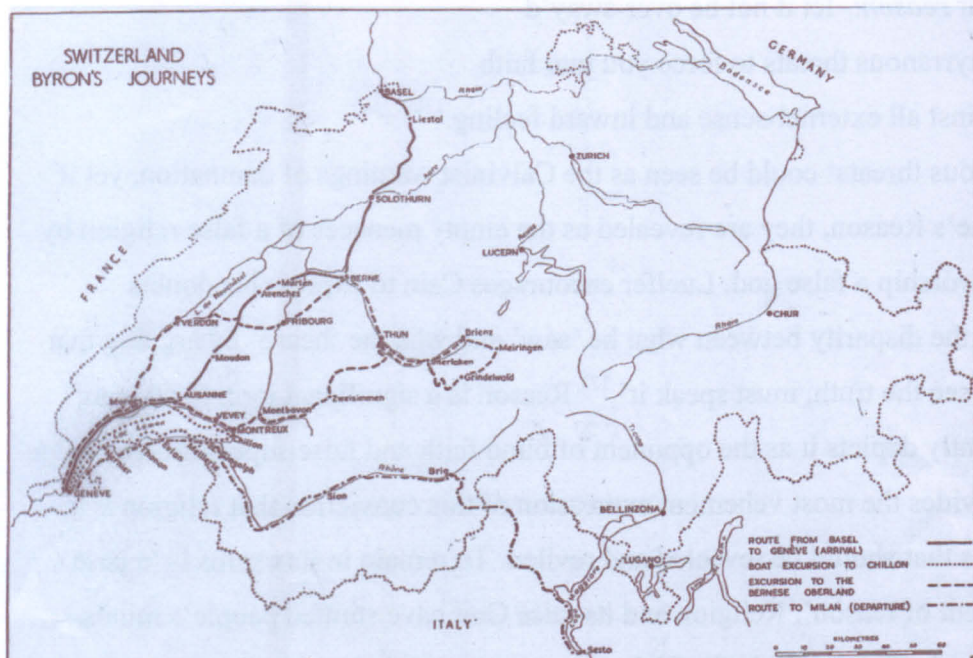


Figure 13: Byron's Journey's in Calvinist Switzerland.⁹

⁹ From H. Straumann, 'Byron in Switzerland', *Byron Foundation Lecture*, (1948-9), p.2.

which is traditionally symbolised by light itself. Here again is the concept of Reason as the opponent of Religion, which has imprisoned its enemy in darkness.

Stauffer points out that unlike poets such as Shelley who are content to merely criticise the hypocrisies of canting liars, Byron always accompanies his criticisms with vengeful threats of violent damnation.¹⁷⁴ It is possible to build on this argument and postulate that this is a result of Byron's Calvinist upbringing and obsession with retribution. Byron might well claim to be 'no enemy to religion' but he is certainly an enemy of those who distort it,¹⁷⁵ and in his poems he issues his challenge against 'all who war / With Thought', as will be shown in this thesis.¹⁷⁶

Byron's Misanthropic Deity: 'His evil is not good!'¹⁷⁷

In an article on Melville's novel *Moby Dick*, Herbert describes the work as 'a traditional form of attack on Calvinism, in which Calvin was accused of having envisaged a God who was a brutal monster'.¹⁷⁸ Although *Moby Dick* was written after Byron's death, the similar perception of God's brutality and Calvinist repression allow Herbert's comment equal application to Byron. The reference to a 'traditional form of attack' reinforces the concept of Byron as writing within a wider tradition. Byron's most vehement denunciations are reserved for his descriptions of the Calvinist God. Given the number and truly unflattering nature of these attacks, it is hardly surprising that Byron should gain a reputation as an Atheist and even a Satanist.¹⁷⁹ He was frequently vilified in the press for portraying God as 'the unrelenting Tyrant of nature [...] the object of open flattery and secret horror even to the celestial ministers of his will'.¹⁸⁰

It must be remembered that Byron is not attacking his own God, or at least not the God he wants to believe in. He is condemning the Calvinist God in whom he seems to have been unable to escape believing. Lady Byron describes Byron's belief

¹⁷⁴ Stauffer, *Anger Revolution and Romanticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p.135.

¹⁷⁵ BLJ IX.87.

¹⁷⁶ DJ IX.24.

¹⁷⁷ *Cain* I.i.140.

¹⁷⁸ T.W. Herbert, 'Calvinism and Cosmic Evil in *Moby Dick*', *PMLA*, 84, (1969), p.1613.

¹⁷⁹ BLJ IV. 50, 51, 177.

¹⁸⁰ R. Heber, from his unsigned review in the *Quarterly Review*, 27, (1822), in Rutherford, *Heritage*, p.244.

that 'God was a malignant spirit, delighting in the sufferings of his creatures' ascribing this 'unhappy view of the relation of the creation to the Creator' to his 'Calvinistic tenets'.¹⁸¹ As Bostetter points out, the God of Byron's poetry is 'obsessively concerned with subjugation and punishment',¹⁸² a god of vengeance and darkness, hidden in 'angry clouds', who is more akin to Satan than the benevolent deity portrayed by the NT. It is this God whom Byron associates with Calvinism in his plays *Cain* and *Heaven and Earth*. By drawing attention to the undeniable cruelty of this Being, Byron repudiates His Omnibenevolence, a *necessary* attribute of the Christian God. This challenge removes one of the central premises on which the Christian perception of God rests by disputing the very God-ness of their God.

Byron attacks the 'Decree which makes man a victim of inherited passions, and untoward circumstances, and then condemns him as solely responsible'.¹⁸³ God condemns everyone to sin in order that He can save some. This is rather like a lifeguard pushing children into the water, so he can show off by saving them. Unfortunately God is a rather overzealous lifeguard who pushes in twenty children but only saves one before the rest drown. It is hardly surprising that Byron, convinced of his own reprobation,¹⁸⁴ would attack such a God and the doctrines that created Him. Teresa's *Recollections* show that even at the end of his life, Byron was still tormented by 'the dogma of eternal punishment, which he could not reconcile with the idea of an omnipotent Creator, as omnipotence implies perfect goodness and Justice'.¹⁸⁵ His conversations with Kennedy reveal a similar confusion.¹⁸⁶

Byron perceived the inexplicable existence of hell as one of the prime examples of God's malignant nature:

A *material* resurrection seems strange and even absurd except for the purposes of punishment – and all punishment which is to *revenge* rather than *correct* – must be *morally wrong* – and *when the World is at an end* – what moral or

¹⁸¹ M. Elwin, *Lord Byron's Wife* (London: John Murray, 1974), p.270.

¹⁸² E. Bostetter, 'Byron and the Politics of Paradise', *PMLA*, 75, (1960), pp.571-2.

¹⁸³ I.C. Grierson, 'Byron and English Society', in *Byron the Poet: a Collection of Addresses & Essays*, ed. W. Briscoe (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1924), p.70; Shelley also condemns this aspect of Calvinism, particularly in poems such as 'Despair' and *The Wandering Jew's Soliloquy*.

¹⁸⁴ See Section Two.

¹⁸⁵ Guiccioli, I, p.154.

¹⁸⁶ Kennedy, pp.55-56.

warning purpose *can* eternal torture answer? – human passions have probably disfigured the divine doctrines here – but the whole thing is inscrutable.¹⁸⁷

What is the purpose of Hell? For Catholics, Hell is a place of atonement, particularly Purgatory which is finite and formed for the exculpation of sins. Byron found concepts such as purgatory ‘comforting’ with their implications of a rehabilitative purpose for Hell.¹⁸⁸ Calvinist damnation is a different thing all together. With no hope of salvation, Hell has no purpose other than the punitive. This seems doubly cruel given that many virtuous are damned according to the doctrines of reprobation. To suffer eternal tortures for one’s sins is one thing but to suffer them for no purpose other than God chose not to save you is quite another and raises questions concerning the morality of such a Being. Between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries there was a rise in condemnation of the doctrine of Hell, not only in England but also in Holland and Germany. Briggs discusses this ‘powerful current’ in the international Protestant community ‘against the doctrine of Hell’.¹⁸⁹ Byron’s assertion that God ‘never made anything to be tortured in another life’,¹⁹⁰ combined with his questioning of the validity of eternal torment, place him firmly within a wider tradition.¹⁹¹

In his conversations with Kennedy, Byron again returns to the purpose of evil. He argued that he could not reconcile the ‘pure and unmixed evil in the world’ and the ‘vice and misery’ of humanity with ‘the idea of a benevolent Creator’.¹⁹² He asked how they could have ‘offended their Creator to be thus subjected to misery?’ This quotation reveals Byron’s confusion over the purpose of God’s will – why damn people and why make this life one of unrivalled suffering?

Cain is perhaps the most fully explored poetical attack on God’s justice.¹⁹³ Blackstone is wrong to describe its theme as ‘God made man, let us hate him’.¹⁹⁴ *Cain*

¹⁸⁷ BLJ IX. 45, *DJ*, VIII.104, ‘God’s ways are inscrutable’. Shelley voices a similar perplexity in ‘On Christianity’, *Prose works*, pp.246-271.

¹⁸⁸ Medwin, p.80.

¹⁸⁹ E.R. Briggs, ‘Mysticism and Rationalism in the Debate upon Eternal Punishment’, *SVEC*, 24, (1963), p.247.

¹⁹⁰ BLJ II.97.

¹⁹¹ D.P. Walker, *The Decline of Hell in Seventeenth Century Discussions of Eternal Torment* (Routledge: London, 1964).

¹⁹² Kennedy, pp.55-56.

¹⁹³ Other relevant commentaries on *Cain* include H. Fisch, ‘Byron’s Cain as Sacred Executioner’, pp.25-38 and R.J. Quinones, ‘Byron’s Cain: Between History and Theology’, pp. 39-57, in *Byron, The Bible and Religion: Essays from the Twelfth International Byron Seminar*, ed. W. Z. Hirst (Newark:



Figure 14: *Adam Finding the Body of Abel*, by William Blake, 1825.¹⁰

¹⁰ From <http://freechristimages.org>.

is far more complex than this rather shallow interpretation implies. The use of the Genesis narrative implicitly raises the issues of Original Sin, Predestination and God's blood lust. It is a deliberate, calculated choice by Byron, allowing him to question biblical history as well as Calvinist doctrines from within the framework of the very tradition he is attacking. The response to *Cain* provides the best evidence of its condemnation of Orthodox Calvinism and its God.¹⁹⁵ Byron suffered widespread denigration in press and pulpit alike. Even his friends were shocked and Murray refused to publish some lines, arguing that they was so blasphemous he feared prosecution.¹⁹⁶

When Cain strikes Abel, the latter does not immediately die but lies bleeding on the ground. He begs God to forgive Cain, exhibiting a Christ-like magnanimity of spirit. God refuses to forgive Cain, exiling him for eternity. There is a pronounced contrast between the merciful Abel-Christ and the vindictive God. The parallels do not stop there. Abel died to fulfil God's curse of mortality on mankind. God willed his death. Christ died to fulfil God's plans, sacrificed to redeem mankind from God's curse of mortality. God willed his death also. Cain is God's agent in this matter, occupying a role similar to that of Satan in the Book of Job. In fact Cain is doubly fulfilling His divine purpose – as well as bringing death, he proves that post-lapsarian humanity is wholly wicked, thereby justifying God's curse. It is especially unjust that God should not spare Cain given he is fulfilling His will. However, God does not actually kill Cain. This could be because Cain is an agent of God when he kills Abel, or it could be because by killing Abel on the altar, Cain has made the ultimate sacrifice of a human life to a God who 'loves blood'. The 'livid light' which suffuses the clouds representing God could have been mistakenly interpreted as anger by Cain's family.¹⁹⁷ It could in fact be the rosy blush of pleasure rather than the ruddy flush of rage.

University of Delaware Press, 1991); I. Dennis, 'Cain: Lord Byron's Sincerity', *Studies in Romanticism*, 21, (2002), pp.655-674; L. Michaels, 'Byron's Cain', *PMLA*, 84, (1969), pp. 71-78; 'Byron's Cain: a Romantic Version of the Fall', *The Kenyan Review*, 2, (1980), pp. 50-71; W.Z. Hirst, 'Byron's Lapse into Orthodoxy: an Unorthodox Reading of Cain', *The Keats-Shelley Journal*, 29, (1980), pp. 151-172.

¹⁹⁴ Blackstone, *Byron a Survey*, p.244.

¹⁹⁵ Kennedy, pp.123-126; Medwin, p. 138.

¹⁹⁶ JMA MS.41909.

¹⁹⁷ *Cain* III.i.390.

Byron's attacks on God were not limited to his plays. *Childe Harold* Canto IV also contains a number of deeply unflattering depictions. One such is stanza 125:

Envenom'd with irrevocable wrong;
And Circumstance, that unspiritual God
And miscreator, makes and helps along
Our coming evils with a crutch-like rod
Whose touch turns hope to dust,
The dust we all have trod.¹⁹⁸

The use of 'envenom'd' is particularly forceful, depicting God as poisoned throughout His entire being. The association of venom with snakebite reinforces the Edenic feel of this passage and its links with the Fall of Man and Original Sin. Moreover, 'venom' has added connotations of rancorous spite, shocking when linked with the benevolent God. The concept of an 'unspiritual God' is almost incomprehensible given that celestial beings are necessarily spirits. 'Miscreator' has implications of a deliberately deformed creation, irrevocably warped by the malice of its Creator. The inconsistencies of these descriptions reflect Byron's own struggle with the inconsistencies in Calvinism. The subsequent stanza also expounds on the misery of human existence, blighted by Original Sin and God's hatred:

Our life is a false nature, - 'tis not in
The harmony of things, - this hard decree,
This ineradicable taint of sin,
This boundless upas, this all blasting tree,
Whose root is earth, whose leaves and branches be
The skies which rain their plagues on men like dew –
Disease, death, bondage – all the woes we see –
And worse the woes we see not – which throb through
The immedicable soul, with heart-aches ever new.¹⁹⁹

The notion of life as 'a false nature' could refer to God's curse in Genesis 3.17-18, where He changes His original creation. Our current existence is not that which God pronounced as 'good' but a mutation warped by God's anger. Original sin is the 'hard decree' by which God damaged us. Byron's acknowledgement of this doctrine can be seen in his reference to the 'ineradicable taint of sin'. It is interesting that Byron uses

¹⁹⁸ *CHP* IV.125.

¹⁹⁹ *CHP* IV.126.



Figure 15: *The Upas or Poison Tree of Java*, by Francis Danby.¹¹

¹¹ From the Victoria and Albert Museum.

the metaphor of the 'all-blasting' upas tree to describe the destructiveness of Original Sin as it is traditionally the name of the poison tree of Macassar and is a term applied to consummate evil.²⁰⁰ Here again is the symbolism of God's creative powers being used in a negative fashion. The perverted nature of this creation is conveyed through the image of leaves and branches, which should offer gentle shade and tasty fruits, yet cause plagues, diseases, death and the bondage of slavery. This shows Byron's despairing antipathy towards this doctrine and its instigator, God, who has cursed the 'immedicable soul' with anguish and desolation. It is worth noting the similarities here to Southey's depiction of the 'Upas Tree of Death' in his 1801 work *Thalaba the Destroyer*. Southey also presents an image of the destructive corruption of this tree that poisons everything near it, trees, flowers, waters, fish – even the 'fresh dew of Heaven that there descends, / Steams in rank poison up'.²⁰¹ The mention of Heavenly dew being corrupted into toxic venom by the Upas Tree is almost inverted by Byron in his attempts to demonstrate the cruelty of God, he shows disease coming from the skies 'like dew' reminding the reader that Original Sin is like the Upas Tree only infinitely worse. The fascination with the Upas Tree was not restricted to poets – the painter Francis Danby was also inspired to depict the barren desolation caused by the Upas in *The upas or poison tree, in the island of Java*, 1820. This painting with its sweeping Blakean lines and stark colours ensured Danby's acceptance into the Royal Academy and is seen as typical of his 'gloomy' style that 'chimed exactly with the Byronic taste of the 1820s'.²⁰²

Conclusion: Byron 'the scourge of sacred cows'

Rutherford describes Byron as 'less a theologian and more a scourge of sacred cows'.²⁰³ Although Rutherford may have used this term quite loosely, in a more complex way Byron is indeed a scourge. The concept of a 'scourge' is a long-standing Christian tradition concerning God's use of wicked tyrants to subdue sinful people,

²⁰⁰ There is a literary tradition surrounding the upas tree, ranging from Byron's use here, to Southey's mention of 'The Upas Tree of Death' surrounded by 'barren waters' in *Thalaba* X.i.2. Shelley also refers to the barren desolation of the Upas tree in *Queen Mab* IV.82-87 and VI.207. Erasmus Darwin's *Botanic Garden* (1791) mentions the 'Hydra tree of death', which inspired Coleridge to plan a poem on the tree though he sadly never wrote it. Arguably, Blake's 'Poison Tree' is not merely a biblical allegory and discursion on the corruption of negative emotions, but could also be read as an allusion to the Upas Tree. There were also numerous mentions in travelogues and scientific works. For more see the various works discussed here and others see R.F. Gustafson, 'The Upas Tree: Pushkin and Erasmus Darwin', *PMLA*, 75, (1960), pp.101-109.

²⁰¹ *Thalaba* X.1-9.

²⁰² L. Lambourne, *Victorian Painting* (London: Phaidon Press, 1999), p.161.

²⁰³ A. Rutherford, 'Byron: A Pilgrim's Progress', *BJ*, 2, (1974), p.6.

based on Isaiah 10.5-16 and Hebrews 12.6. (The scourge is usually killed off at a later date as a reward for bloody services, because God only selects sinners who already deserve damnation).²⁰⁴ Satan fulfils the role of 'scourge' in the Book of Job, and the concept of the 'vindictive rod of angry justice' was entrenched in Christian culture, even in Byron's day.²⁰⁵ The OED references 'scourge' as *flagellum Dei*, 'chiefly a person or thing that is an instrument of divine chastisement'.²⁰⁶ Perhaps the most famous literary expression of this concept is Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* in which the eponymous anti-hero, 'barbarous and bloody Tamburlaine',²⁰⁷ is frequently described as the 'scourge of God and terror of the world'.²⁰⁸ He is empowered by 'the Majesty of Heaven' to give those 'who heaven abhors' a taste of Hell on earth.²⁰⁹ Byron certainly knew of Marlowe's drama as he makes various references to it.²¹⁰

Byron was aware of this concept of a divinely inspired providential avenger, casting himself in this role to revenge himself on Lady Byron,²¹¹ and alluding to it in various poems.²¹² The notion of Byron as a Scourge gives him a two-fold role: on the one hand, he is the vehicle of God, chosen to chastise corrupt clergy and hypocritical Christians, a task he fulfils admirably; on the other hand, as with all 'scourges' he is himself a sinner, a necessary tool wielded by God for a time before being discarded and damned for his many sins. The OED describes the actions of such a scourge as lashing 'with satire or invective, to afflict, torment, to devastate'.²¹³ This is an extremely apt definition of Byron's anti-Calvinist attacks, particularly those in *Don Juan* and the biblical Dramas. Arthur Quiller-Couch portrays Byron as a valiant revolutionary against the tyranny of Christianity in his 1924 lecture, arguing that Byron's task was 'to arraign the wickedness before which men fawn, spiritual

²⁰⁴ R.W. Dent, 'Hamlet Scourge and Sinner', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 29, (1978), p82.

²⁰⁵ Cowper, 'Hatred and Vengeance', St. 2; Shelley expresses a similar sentiment in *The Wandering Jew's Soliloquy*, which contains a long discussion of the scourging of Israel and its enemies by God.

²⁰⁶ OED, 'Scourge', Noun.2.i.

²⁰⁷ II.vii.42.

²⁰⁸ IV.i.153.

²⁰⁹ IV.i.71, 148.

²¹⁰ He would have read *Tamburlaine* in Lamb's *Specimens of English Dramatic Poets*, and refers to 'Timor the Lame' (the historical character on whom *Tamburlaine* is based) in *Deformed Transformed* l. 323, and also in 'Childish Recollections'.

²¹¹ BLJ V.95.

²¹² *CHP* I.52; 'Prophecy of Dante' II.118-121; *The Corsair* where Conrad was 'by Nature sent / To lead the guilty' and 'thought the voice of wrath a sacred call', perceiving himself, like *Tamburlaine*, to be a scourge of God, II. 249-250, 263.

²¹³ OED 'Scourge', Verb (2).



J. O. B.

Figure 16: Engraving for The Book of Job by William Blake.¹²

¹² From D. Bindman, *The Complete Graphic Works of William Blake* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978), p.144.

wickedness in high places'.²¹⁴ This is undoubtedly the perception Byron had of himself, a stance frequently bemoaned by his publisher, John Murray II, who feared that such views would 'deprive' him of his 'more orthodox' customers.²¹⁵ Milton's Satan fulfils a similar role as, arguably, does Cain, who was chosen by God to be the means by which Death comes into the world. This concept of God using people and resources within the world to punish its inhabitants is a key precept of Calvinism which advocated retributive justice as will be addressed more fully in Section Two.²¹⁶ It is this casual attitude towards humanity and disregard for the value of life that Byron criticised in Calvinism, Calvinists and their God.

²¹⁴ A. Quiller-Couch, 'The Fame of Byron', in *Byron the Poet: a Collection of Addresses & Essays*, ed. W. Briscoe (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1924), p.28.

²¹⁵ Byron responded 'as for the "*Orthodox*", let us hope they buy on purpose to abuse', which shows his views on the petty small-mindedness of his Christian detractors, BLJ II. 91. See also Nicholson, *Murray*, p.3; for further details see the JMA manuscript of contemporary perceptions of Byron's anti-Calvinist attacks, MS.41909.

²¹⁶ For Calvin's views see *Institutes* Book Three, Chapter Four – the whole chapter examines the concept of scourges and God's chastisement.

SECTION TWO: Byron's 'accents of despair'¹

Horror and doubt distract

His troubled thoughts, and from the bottom stir

The hell within him, for within him hell

He brings, and round about him, nor from hell

One step no more than from himself can fly

By change of place. Now conscience wakes despair.

Milton, *Paradise Lost*.²

'I am an atheist – a rebel – and, at last, the Devil'³

Byron hated the God of Scottish Calvinism. He condemned the cruelty of a Being who 'makes but to destroy'.⁴ Yet why was Byron so convinced of the malice of this Deity? Certainly his wife and peers blamed his childhood indoctrination in Scottish Calvinism for his negative perceptions of God – perceptions which his extensive reading of the OT with its vindictive deity, would have reinforced.⁵ Byron's 'Jehovah of the Jews' is a 'jealous God' conceived of by a nomadic warrior race seeking to validate their subjugation of Canaan and the lands surrounding it.⁶ This God, who should have been rendered anachronistic by the NT message of merciful love, was remarkably suited to the role of Vengeful Despot created by Calvin's predestined reprobation. It is perfectly plausible that a Being who deliberately floods the entire world like a child smashing an unsatisfactory model and kills innocent first-born sons in a fit of pique, would foresee the Fall of mankind into sin and suffering yet do nothing to avert it. A precocious child who read the OT 'through and through',⁷ reared in the Aberdeen Presbytery with its strict adherence to the severe tenets of the Scottish Church, Byron's negative apprehension of God cannot be wondered at.

The belief in a vindictive God colours all aspects of Byron's conception of religion, not only his views of the afterlife but his perceptions of the world and his place in it. Yet why did he cling so fixedly to this view, even when out of the direct ambit of Scottish Calvinist proselytising, far beyond the repressive Kirks? Surely his

¹ 'Prayer of Nature' St. 1.

² *PL* IV.19-24.

³ *BLJ* IV.51.

⁴ *Cain* I.i.267.

⁵ Byron claimed to be 'a great reader and admirer of those books', *BLJ* VIII. 238.

⁶ *BLJ* VIII. 53.

⁷ *BLJ* VIII. 238.



Figure 17: *The Wood of Self Murderers, Harpies and Suicides* by William Blake.¹³

¹³ From the Tate Britain.

view of God should have been tempered, warmed perhaps by his association with English Protestants of various denominations as well as the Continental beliefs he came across on his various travels. Byron's continued unfavourable assessment of God is the single strongest argument for his very real and apparently unshakeable Calvinist faith. To trace and truly appreciate the subtlety of Byron's attacks, the reasoning behind his views should be examined. As Donnelly notes, the 'psychological ambience that Calvinism created' is arguably more important than Byron's actual reaction against Calvinism itself.⁸

Byron had a naturally melancholic disposition – it is likely that he had manic depression, inherited from his mother's side of the family. This 'constitutional depression of Spirits',⁹ played an integral role in Byron's unflattering views of God. It will be argued that his depression actually encouraged Byron's belief in a 'loathed and loathing' God who both hates and is hated by His creations.¹⁰

In this Byron was not alone. Since the earliest days of Calvinism there have been many in whom the complex doctrines of predestined reprobation engendered a conviction that God hated them. This resulted in fear and hatred of God.¹¹ In numerous cases it caused depression and paranoia, as 'Horror and doubt' wounded the 'conscience' which 'wakes despair' of salvation and terror of the inescapable 'hell within'. This form of religion-induced melancholia is called Religious Despair. There have been countless literary works on the topic, including the above epigraph by Milton portraying Satan's Religious Despair and damnation. Stachniewski's *Persecutory Imagination* examines the presence of Religious Despair in other literary works, from Bunyan's allegory *Pilgrim's Progress* to the poetry of William Cowper. Although largely fictional, works such as these are particularly valuable sources of information as the majority of the writers on Religious Despair are themselves sufferers, imbuing their works with a vividness born of experience.

⁸ Donnelly, 'Byron and Catholicism', in *Radical or Dandy*, p.46.

⁹ BLJ VIII. 216.

¹⁰ P. Shelley, *Laon and Cynthia* I. 27.

¹¹ Burns and Hogg seem to have suffered depression and possibly despair – it is interesting that like Byron, they also expressed dislike of the Calvinist God and His minions in letters and poetry. Hogg's depression is discussed in the introduction to *Confessions*, p.xiii, also Religious Despair is mentioned in the novel, pp.69-70. Burns' letters frequently mention his depression and his belief that his life is deliberately cursed, as noted by Jamison, *Touched by Fire*, pp.17-18. See also his poems 'The Ruin', 'Winter a Dirge' and 'Prayer in the Prospect of Death'.

Critics largely perceive literary Religious Despair as ending with Cowper, as shown by the dearth of works on literary manifestations of Religious Despair following his demise.¹² Yet there are a number of nineteenth-century works which seem to deal with the anguished sense of persecution by a callous Deity for predestined and inescapable sins leading to eternal damnation and mental torment. These include works by William Godwin, Mary Shelley, Coleridge and Byron, whose poetry seems to fit perfectly into the category of literary Religious Despair. Certainly Byron himself fits the criteria of a sufferer – he has depression, hates God, believes God hates him and is convinced of his own reprobation. These are all factors causing Religious Despair. Although various critics have addressed the issue of Byron's depression, none have provided a detailed analysis of the cause and effects of this depression on his poetry, overlooking the possibility that Byron may have been a sufferer of Religious Despair.¹³ Despite its title, Barton's work, *Byron: Journey into Despair*, does not contain an adequate explanation of Religious Despair, providing only a cursory examination of this Despair and its impact on Byron, almost entirely neglecting his poetry. Barton wrongly claims that because Byron merely has a layman's understanding of Calvinism, only the most superficial overview of Calvinist theology is necessary, even going so far as to argue that Byron's relatively Presbyterian beliefs are proof of his lack of doctrinal knowledge – a peculiar line of argument at best.¹⁴

Byron's Depression: that 'disease of the Spirit'¹⁵

Even the briefest glance at any of Marchand's thirteen-volume *Byron's Letters and Journals* would reveal evidence of the depression which troubled Byron throughout his life.¹⁶ His poetry provides an equally rich source attesting to his '*lamelancholy*'.¹⁷

¹² J. Goodall claims that 'the horrors of conscience' belong to 'a particular seventeenth-century gloss on the concept of original sin' and is not present in 'post-Calvinist world' of nineteenth-century literature, 'Frankenstein and the Reprobate's Conscience', *Studies in the Novel*, 31, (1999), p.20.

¹³ G. Batten, *The Orphaned Imagination: Melancholy and Commodity Culture in English Romanticism* (London: Duke University Press, 1998); K. Jamison, *Touched by Fire: Manic Depressive Illness and the Artistic Temperament* (New York: The Free Press, 1993).

¹⁴ Barton, *Journey into Despair*, pp.6-10.

¹⁵ BLJ VII. 185.

¹⁶ BLJ I. 63 (1805), 82, 87, 111, 114, 160; BLJ II. 51, 54, 56, 95, 110, 124, 143; BLJ III. 45, 123, 131, 236; BLJ IV. 121, 184; BLJ V. 20, 44; BLJ VI. 118, 214, 245; BLJ VII. 82, 185, 186, 189; BLJ VIII. 13, 15, 16, 216, 236; BLJ IX. 38, 47, *inter alia*.

¹⁷ BLJ VIII. 236.

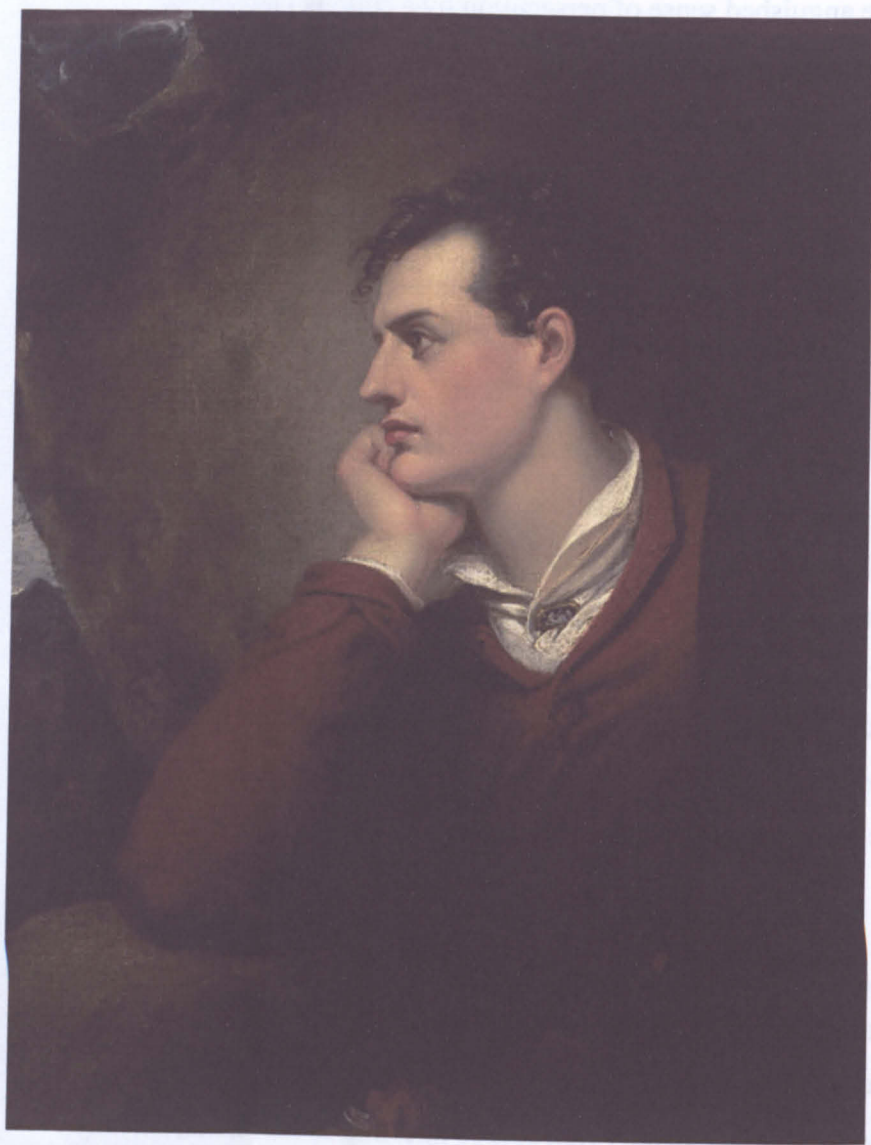


Figure 18: Portrait of Lord Byron by Richard Westall.

Childe Harold 'stalks in joyless reverie' through four Cantos,¹⁸ while Manfred's self-loathing and hatred of life lead him to attempt suicide.¹⁹ Byron himself frequently alludes to his own suicidal impulses and stated that 'a long life' is neither likely nor 'desirable for one of [his] temper & constitutional depression of Spirits'.²⁰

In light of this, it seems curious that a number of critics assume Byron was merely a Romantic Melancholic, a sufferer of *Weltschmerz* (defined as a melancholy world-weariness by the OED), or a victim of the Cult of Sensibility. The despondency captured in various portraits of Byron epitomise what has come to be termed 'Romantic Melancholy'.²¹ Peacock mocks this attitude in the character of Scythrop in *Nightmare Abbey*. A combination of Shelleyan idealism and Byronic back-story, Scythrop typifies the posturing of the Romantic Melancholic, ostentatiously seeking isolation in a crumbling ivy-covered tower. Other critics perceive Byron's depression to be a form of *Weltschmerz*.²² This literary genre expressed a weary dissatisfaction with life. The sufferers of *Weltschmerz*, exemplified in Goethe's *The Sorrows of Young Werther*, positively wallowed in their misery, revelling in the sense of being misinterpreted by society.²³ Goethe himself suffered severe depression and many of his friends feared his suicide.²⁴ The fascination with misery and the self-indulgent surrender to an emotional rollercoaster evolved out of the eighteenth-century Cult of Sensibility. Described as 'a cult of refined emotionalism' by Barker-Benfield,²⁵ it 'focused on human emotions and subjectivity' and was characterised by 'emotional vulnerability and mournful retreat'.²⁶

¹⁸ *CHP* I.6.50 and *BLJ* II. 96.

¹⁹ *Manfred* I.ii and II.i.

²⁰ *BLJ* VIII. 216; *BLJ* III. 236; V.165; also A. Alvarez, *The Savage God: a Study of Suicide* (Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1974), p.238; MacCarthy notes that after Annabella left him, Byron's heir apparent, George Byron, was sent to stay with him to prevent 'possible violence and suicidal impulses', *Byron*, p. 263.

²¹ For more on Romantic melancholy see Batten, *Orphaned Imagination*.

²² W. Rose, *From Goethe to Byron. The Development of Weltschmerz in German Literature* (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1924), p.2; also P. Thorslev, *The Byronic Hero* (Mineapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1965), pp. 84-95.

²³ *The Sorrows of Young Werther*, trans. M. Hulse (London: Penguin Classics, 2003).

²⁴ B. Fairley, *A Study of Goethe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961), pp.27-30.

²⁵ G. Barker Benfield, *A Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), p. xix.

²⁶ J. Stabler, 'The Literary background', in *Romanticism an Oxford Guide*, ed. N. Roe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp.29-37; A. Pinch 'Sensibility', in *Romanticism*, ed. N. Roe, pp.49-61; N. Frye, 'Towards Defining an Age of Sensibility', *ELH*, 23, (1956), pp.144-152.

Although Byron's public persona and many of his Byronic anti-heroes might owe more to stylised posturing than mental anguish, Byron himself undeniably suffered a very real clinical depression. His is not the vague rootless angst of Werther, nor the petulant affectations of Scythrop, indicative of the general melancholic malaise of the Romantics. Nor was Byron's despair the overwrought and overstrained emotionalism characteristic of the Cult of Sensibility. A deeper melancholy undoubtedly assailed Byron, affecting him for much of his life.

Byron's friends were aware of his depression, the 'predisposition to grief' lurking behind the veneer of artificial angst.²⁷ His mistress Teresa Guiccioli has an entire chapter devoted to this, as well as other references throughout her two-volume work.²⁸ Byron's Cambridge friend Hodgson frequently wrote on the subject of Byron's depressed spirits and often urged him to shed his melancholy.²⁹ In response to these well-meant urgings Byron wrote 'Epistle to a Friend', with the subtitle 'In Answer to Some Lines Exhorting the Author to be Cheerful and to "Banish Care"'.³⁰ Shelley and Peacock were equally convinced of Byron's depression.³¹ Even at the end of his life in Greece, Byron seems to have been plagued by despondency.³² His recent biographer, Fiona MacCarthy often alludes to his 'state of deep depression'.³³ This is supported by Byron's first biographer, and close friend, Thomas Moore.³⁴

Walter Scott, another of Byron's friends, notes his 'often melancholy, almost gloomy' mood. He describes gazing on 'the powerful and ruined mind which [Byron] presents us, as on a shattered castle', perceiving Byron as labouring 'under some strange mental malady that destroys his peace of mind and happiness'.³⁵ The gothic imagery of damaged genius would be equally applicable to Byron's *Manfred*, though the drama was not published till the following year. This is the first of various

²⁷ Blessington, p. 233.

²⁸ Guiccioli, I, p. 145, the Chapter on his melancholy, pp. 301-375.

²⁹ Hodgson, *Memoirs*, I, pp. 94-124, 149-225.

³⁰ See also 'And Wilt Thou Weep When I am Low'.

³¹ C.E. Robinson, *Shelley and Byron: The Snake and Eagle Wreathed in Fight* (London: John Hopkins University Press, 1976), p. 92. For more on Byron as Maddalo, see W. Christie, 'Despondency and Madness: Shelley in Conversation with Byron in *Julian and Maddalo*', *BJ*, 21, (1993), pp. 43-62.

³² P. Napier, *Revolution and the Napier Brothers 1820-1840* (London: Michael Joseph, 1973), p. 40.

³³ MacCarthy, *Byron*, p. 444.

³⁴ T. Moore, *Letters and Journals of Lord Byron, with Notices of his Life*, 2 vols (Paris: Baudry's European Library, 1833).

³⁵ *Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, ed. H.J.C. Grierson, 12 vols (London: Constable, 1932-1937), IV, p. 297.

intimations that Byron's poetic creations might be perceived as expressing a certain amount of his own mental anguish.³⁶ Although his poetry cannot be equated with his person, nonetheless overlaps are not only possible but seem to have been extremely frequent. His public seem to have assumed that such a congruence between man and text existed. Byron once noted how 'People have wondered at the Melancholy which runs through my writings'.³⁷ Certainly Shelley and Peacock perceived the strong thread of pessimism woven through *Childe Harold* Canto IV as proof that Byron's depression was extreme enough to constitute borderline madness.³⁸ This provides a precedent for examining his poetry in this study with a similar aim. Byron himself was aware of the melancholic nature of many of his characters, noting that his depression 'breaks out when alone & in [his] writings'.³⁹ Comments such as this, showing the poet's awareness of his own mental state being projected onto his characters, validate an in-depth analysis of his poetry as a source of information about his mental health, though it is important to retain an awareness of a certain degree of self-dramatisation in Byron's works.

Another link between creator and creation can be found in Byron's *Alpine Journal* which contains 'all the germs of *Manfred*'.⁴⁰ There is a disturbing description of a forest which Byron likens to himself and his family:

Passed *whole woods of withered pines – all withered – trunks stripped & barkless – branches lifeless – done by a single winter – their appearance reminded me of me and my family.*⁴¹

The emphasis here is Byron's own and it indicates the intensity of his thoughts on this topic, as do the dashes, showing the flow of consciousness as he writes down the impressions as they occur to him. The alliteration of 'w' combined with the repetition of 'withered' conjures a sense of cold winds whistling through desiccated trees. Also 'stripped' conveys a sense of active destruction, as do the negative terms 'barkless'

³⁶ John Murray's brother Archie, who met Byron while travelling in Europe, wrote a letter to Murray in which he mentions that by 1823, the 'superabundance of dark themes, and too frequent exhibition of reprobate personages [...] no longer pass for fine poetical inventions, but are considered by most folks as the habitual emanations of his mind, the types of his own nature', Nicholson, *Letters of John Murray*, p.451. Byron mentions meeting Archie Murray in BLJ IX. 212.

³⁷ BLJ IX. 38.

³⁸ D. Ellis, 'Who was the King of the Cats? Byron, Shelley and the Friendship of Poets', *Cambridge Quarterly*, 39, (2010), p.74.

³⁹ BLJ VIII. 216.

⁴⁰ BLJ VIII.176.

⁴¹ BLJ V.102.

**BEST COPY
AVAILABLE**

TEXT IN ORIGINAL
IS CLOSE TO THE
EDGE OF THE
PAGE

GORDONS OF GIGHT, FAMILY TREE 1533-1788

Earl of Huntley -- m -- Princess Annabella Stuart

Earl Huntley	Earl of Aberdeen	1 st daughter	2 nd daughter	3 rd daughter	William of Gight <i>First Laird</i> d. Battle of Flodden, 1513
				Murdered her husband	

Barbara

William *Second Laird*
Violent death

Catherine
--m--

John *Fourth Laird*

Daughter of Cardinal Beatoun -- m -- George Gordon
d. 1578 in a duel

James Innes of Rathmackenzie
d. Pinkie, 1547

Alexander Innes of Cromby
Murdered 1580

George Holme -- m -- Elizabeth
Earl of Dunbar
Poisoned 1612

John
Executed in Edinburgh
In 1592, for killing the
Earl of Moray.

Margaret
Father-in-law
murdered by
William, 1576.

Catherine
Husband killed
by William in
1589.

William *Fifth Laird*
d. 1605

3rd son
d. War in Holland

4th son
d. in duel

Elspet
1618 - accused
of brutally
assaulting a
man, blackmail,
and mounting
raids on
neighbours.

Alexander
Exiled for
savage attacks
on neighbours.

George *Sixth Laird*
Excommunicated by
Kirk for Catholicism.
Stole from brother-in-law.
d. 1640.

John
Led a band
of Brigands

William
Killed at Turif.

Adam
Abducted the
daughter of
the Laird of Leasle

Robert
Exiled for raiding
in 1634.

Patrick
Exiled for
violent attack
in 1609 & 1610

Nathaniel
Executed 1646.

d. 1615 in a duel.

George *Seventh Laird*

He and his father were jailed in Edinburgh for attacking the Sixth Laird's Mother-in-law. When Gight was attacked, he hid all his treasure in the Hagberry Pot, a pool in the river Ythan below the castle. The Devil allegedly took it as payment and guards it still.

George *Eighth Laird* -- m -- Anne Forbes

Attacked his mother at
Gight Castle.

Murdered by her husband,
according to a popular ballad.

George *Ninth Laird*

Alexander Davidson of Newton -- m -- Mary *Tenth Laird*

1701

Margaret Dolf of Craighton -- m -- Alexander Davidson Gordon *Eleventh Laird*

Drowned in Ythan Brae by Hagberry Pot, possible suicide, 1760.

George Gordon *Twelfth Laird*

Drowned in the Avon, possible suicide, 1779

Abercromby
d. 1777

Catherine *Thirteenth Laird* -- m -- John Byron
Sold Estates in 1788

George Gordon, Baron Byron

Figure 19: Gordons of Gight, Family Tree.¹

¹ Based on J.M. Bullock, *The Tragic Adventures of Byron's Ancestors* (1898).

and ‘lifeless’, (my emphasis) drawing attention to the disparity between the winter-withered trees and their former summer foliage. The reference to ‘a single winter’ could be perceived as a description of Byron himself as the destroyer of his family. The barren sterility of such a winter reiterates the desolation of a mind suffering depression, devoid of any of the nurturing, verdant aspects of nature.⁴² A similar description can be found in *Manfred: a Tragedy*, where Manfred describes his own depression as like ‘these blasted pines / Wrecks of a single winter, barkless, branchless’.⁴³ The reuse of this image shows how intense an impact it made on Byron and proves the association of the dead forest with his melancholia. A subsequent line describing the ‘blighted trunk upon a cursed root’ could be seen to refer to his belief in the hereditary taint of sin and depression. ‘Blighted’ suggests a plague or the desolation that strikes after a crop suffers blight, while the word ‘curse’ implies an active will directing the blight. Thus Byron-Manfred is the blighted trunk growing from the cursed root of his family line.⁴⁴

This can be read as an expression of Byron’s awareness that his depression was ‘inherited from [his] mother’s family’.⁴⁵ Certainly his Mother’s family tree attests to a marked degree of violence and suicidal impulses. Byron’s grandfather and great-grandfather (the eleventh and twelfth Lairds of Gight) were both ‘strongly suspected of Suicide’ by drowning.⁴⁶ Jamison’s book on poets with manic depression describes Byron’s family history as ‘remarkable for its suicide, violence, irrationality, financial extravagance, and recurrent melancholia’.⁴⁷ In 1821 Byron, again brooding on his depression, wrote a letter claiming that he had ‘always been told’ that he closely resembled his ‘maternal Grandfather’ particularly in the ‘gloomier part of his temper’.⁴⁸ This was the 12th Laird, believed to have committed suicide after being ‘found drowned in the Avon at Bath’.⁴⁹ It is rather an ominous sign if this is the

⁴² This concept also appears in ‘When I Roved a Young Highlander’ where the narrator notes that as ‘the last of my race, I must wither alone’, St. 4.

⁴³ *Manfred* I.ii.67-69.

⁴⁴ Similar imagery can be found in BLJ V.119, and BLJ II.110.

⁴⁵ BLJ VII.189.

⁴⁶ BLJ VIII.216.

⁴⁷ Jamison, *Touched by Fire*, p.115.

⁴⁸ BLJ III.217.

⁴⁹ BLJ VIII.216.

family member whom Byron most resembles, and shows his perception of his depression as an inherited trait, rather like Original Sin.⁵⁰

The Byron line seems to have also been affected by depression and insanity, though to a lesser extent than the Gordons. Certainly Byron's predecessor, the Wicked Lord, is reputed to have suffered from 'paranoia and depression',⁵¹ after he was found guilty of manslaughter.⁵² Thus Byron would have inherited a genetic predisposition towards depression from both sides of the family.

Before moving onto the religious implications of Byron's depression, the sort of depression should be identified. Symptoms of depression include guilt, paranoia, insomnia, weight loss, apathy, agitation, decreased appetite, indecisiveness, personal devaluation, decreased libido, irritability and suicidal impulses.⁵³ Byron would seem to manifest all of these symptoms at various times.⁵⁴ In fact, timing appears to be a key factor in Byron's periodic bouts of depression, most frequent in 'certain seasons'.⁵⁵ Byron often linked his 'bad spirits' with 'foggy' skies, while asserting that 'cloudless skies' alleviated his depression.⁵⁶ Certainly an overview of his correspondence and journals would support this.⁵⁷ The apocalyptic poem 'Darkness' is arguably his most powerful expression of the destructive, all-encompassing dejection that results from the absence of sunlight. The poem details the despair following the death of the sun, plunging humanity into chaos. Here again is the association of bad weather, or in this case perpetual night, with mental darkness. This all indicates that Byron suffered from S.A.D, or Seasonal Affective Disorder, a form of reactive depression brought on by bad weather and lack of sunshine. His childhood in Aberdeen, a place known for exceptionally high rates of S.A.D, even now,⁵⁸ his

⁵⁰ Byron's frequent mentions of suicide include the aforementioned *Manfred* and 'Epistle to Augusta' St.4.

⁵¹ MacCarthy, *Byron*, p.7.

⁵² *The Trial of William, Lord Byron [...] for the Murder of William Chaworth esq. [...]* (London: Samuel Billingsley, 1765).

⁵³ L. Freden, *Psychosocial Aspects of Depression: No Way Out?* (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 1982), pp.1-3.

⁵⁴ BLJ IV.121; BLJ VIII.185.

⁵⁵ BLJ VII.186.

⁵⁶ BLJ II.56, 54.

⁵⁷ BLJ VII.185; BLJ II.95; BLJ VIII.13.

⁵⁸ The area nurse, Dawn Rawlins, spoke of how even now with modern treatments there was still an exceptionally high level of sufferers of depression in the area owing to the poor weather, in an interview on the 27th of February, 2010.

time at clouded Newstead Abbey and the periodic volcanic eruptions during his lifetime, which contributed to unusually clouded skies, all arguably intensified Byron's S.A.D.

However it is the erratic nature of Byron's depression, the manic highs and lows, which provide the main insight into its nature. MacCarthy describes how he veered 'from deep gloom to manic exuberance' throughout his life.⁵⁹ Teresa Guiccioli places a chapter on Byron's happiness immediately before that on his depression, underlining the contradictory aspects of his nature. Byron's wife, Annabella, describes his levity as 'the foam that might float on the Waters of Bitterness', implying that the merriment was a façade hiding a deeply despondent nature.⁶⁰ Byron admits that he hid his depression, suppressing it 'in society' beneath a veneer of high spirits.⁶¹ He frequently mused on his fluctuating mental state, recalling how after an occasion when he had been 'sincerely and particularly gay', his wife told him that he was in fact 'the most melancholy of mankind [...] often when apparently gayest'.⁶² This inconsistency intimates that Byron could have been suffering from Bi-Polar Disorder or Manic Depression, which is characterised by frequent mood swings, pronounced highs and lows, and almost frenzied bursts of gaiety. There are a number of passages in his letters and conversations that would seem to support this, for example, on one occasion Byron describes himself as suffering 'a kind of hysterical merriment which I can neither account for nor conqueror'.⁶³

Symptoms of Bi-polar Disorder include long enthusiastic streams of conversation, rapid mood swings, irrational spending sprees, reckless borrowing of money, grandiose and unfulfilled plans, 'outrageous' flirting, rapid movement from affair to affair, and ill-considered, rushed and ill-fated marriages during the manic periods.⁶⁴ All of these were displayed by Byron, showing him to be far more than the mere

⁵⁹ MacCarthy, *Byron*, p.444.

⁶⁰ Cited in Rutherford *Byron: Critical Study*, p.11.

⁶¹ BLJ VIII. 216.

⁶² BLJ IX. 38.

⁶³ BLJ II. 70. See also BLJ VIII. 15-16; Harold often alternates between a 'maddest mirthful mood' and 'strange pangs' of anguished gloom, *CHP* I.8.64-67; in 'L'Amitie est l'amour sans Ailes' Byron also depicts pronounced mood swings.

⁶⁴ J. White, *The Masks of Melancholy: A Christian Psychiatrist Looks at Depression and Suicide* (Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press, 1982), pp.96-97.



Figure 20: View of Hagberry Pot below the Castle of Gight, where the 11th Laird is believed to have drowned himself.¹⁴

¹⁴ Taken on my visit to Gight.

‘touring tragedarian’ dismissed by T.S. Eliot.⁶⁵ Although there are some aspects of posturing melancholia, particularly evident in his portraits, his depression was an unfortunate aspect of his life.

In order to understand why Byron’s depression is relevant in the context of his religious beliefs and doubts, one must examine his own words. In 1821, Byron muses on the reasons behind his dejection:

[If] I could explain at length the *real* causes which have contributed to increase this perhaps *natural* temperament of mine – this Melancholy which hath made me a bye-word – nobody would wonder – but this is impossible without doing much mischief.⁶⁶

Although he mentions his ‘natural temperament’, Byron clearly indicates that there is something else, some factor which intensifies his melancholia. This ‘*real*’ cause is unmentionable. Byron believes that any who knew the truth would immediately understand his ‘low spirits’. This is a veiled allusion to a sinful or criminal act which cannot be mentioned, even in the privacy of his Journal, an act so dire that it has made his depression immeasurably worse.⁶⁷ Such a sense of sin was frequently expressed in Byron’s poetry. Indeed, a guilty conscience caused by unmentionable sins has become an identifying characteristic of the Byronic hero, or rather anti-hero. James claims that it was actually the other way round, arguing that Byron deliberately engineered his sins and scandals to enhance his Romantic image, the poet emulating his poetry.⁶⁸ However this is highly unlikely, given that many of Byron’s assertions of sin predate his *Childe Harold* popularity, before which there would be no point in feeding a non-existent publicity machine and no poetical creations for him to imitate. Fairchild argues that Byron’s poetical characters with their ‘mysterious and terrible’ sins provided him with a means of expressing and in some manner expiating his own guilt.⁶⁹ There are countless possibilities for Byron’s sense of guilt. From his youth he was ‘held up as a Votary of Licentiousness and the Disciple of Infidelity’,⁷⁰ claiming

⁶⁵ T. Eliot, *On Poetry and Poets* (London: Faber & Faber, 1935), p.194.

⁶⁶ BLJ IX. 38.

⁶⁷ Byron’s wife frequently wrote of her husband’s obsession with unmentionable sins in her letters to the psychiatrist she hoped would commit him following their separation, see Elwin, *Byron’s Wife* and H. Beecher-Stowe, *Lady Byron Vindicated* (London: Echo Library, 2008).

⁶⁸ D.G. James, ‘Byron and Shelley’, *Byron Foundation*, (1951), pp.7-18.

⁶⁹ Fairchild, *Religious Trends*, III, p.393.

⁷⁰ BLJ I.146.

to 'have tried every kind of pleasure' by the age of nineteen.⁷¹ Such habits are still in evidence during his extended stay in the 'sea sodom' of Venice,⁷² leading to his being condemned as a 'profligate sinner' and even a '*Devil*'.⁷³ His wife claimed he thought 'his transgressions beyond forgiveness', because he saw 'God as an Avenger not a Father'.⁷⁴ Byron's belief in the vengeful God of Calvinism can be seen as causing his conviction of damnation.

Byron believed himself to be 'predestined to evil' by the 'God who punishes in this existence'.⁷⁵ This concept of life as a punitive torment cunningly contrived by a loathing God is a key aspect of the reprobate mindset, engendering a sense of persecution. Like many before him, Byron believed that 'some curse hangs over' him.⁷⁶ Stachniewski mentions this 'sense of being discriminated against' as characteristic of reprobates.⁷⁷ It is not surprising that Byron would attack such a God, nor is it surprising that he should be deeply depressed, given his perception of his place and purpose in the world.

One of the most curious anecdotes concerning Byron's belief in his reprobation comes from Samuel Rogers, believed to have read Byron's infamous Memoirs before Murray and Moore burned them.⁷⁸ The story Rogers relates is thought to come from the Memoirs:

On his marriage-night, Byron suddenly started out of his first sleep; a taper, which burned in the room, was casting a ruddy glare through the crimson curtains of the bed; and he could not help exclaiming, in a voice so loud that he wakened Lady B. 'Good God, I am surely in hell!'⁷⁹

Even Byron's oft quoted wish to be 'born a Catholic' is arguably due to the 'comfortable' doctrine of purgatory which renders hell finite.⁸⁰ As Sinsart argued in 1748, only the damned would desire a 'system which limits the punishments of the

⁷¹ BLJ I.160.

⁷² *Marino Faliero* V.iii.3.

⁷³ BLJ X. 23; BLJ I. 103; BLJ IV.50.

⁷⁴ Marjarum, *Sceptic and Believer*, p.20.

⁷⁵ Medwin, p.60; BLJ II. 89.

⁷⁶ BLJ II. 68.

⁷⁷ J. Stachniewski, *Persecutory Imagination: English Puritanism and the Literature of Religious Despair* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), p.109.

⁷⁸ Byron told Medwin that many 'friends and acquaintances' had read his Memoirs, Medwin, p.25.

⁷⁹ S. Rogers, *Table Talk*, cited in MacCarthy, *Byron*, p.238.

⁸⁰ Medwin, p. 63.



Figure 21: Portrait of Anne Isabella Milbanke before her marriage to Byron, by Sir George Hayter, 1812.

afterlife' because 'a good conscience has no motive for inventing quibbles about a matter which does not concern it'.⁸¹ Byron's vituperative condemnation of Hell's torments can therefore be seen as further proof of his conviction of reprobation.

Medical opinion differentiates between Endogenous (internal) causes, and Exogenous (external) causes of depression. Byron's inherited depression would be an Endogenous cause. He also displays various symptoms associated with Exogenous causes including anxiety, self-pity, insomnia, and what Freden describes as a 'fixation by the depressed person on a specific precipitating object'.⁸² It is arguable that in Byron's case this fixation on a precipitating object is an obsession with God's hatred and his own damnation. His conviction of reprobation could have intensified his Exogenous, or reactive, depression. In turn, this fatalistic sense of persecution would have been exacerbated by his recurring S.A.D.

T.S. Eliot's description of Byron's 'peculiar diabolism, his delight in posing as a damned creature' is somewhat inaccurate.⁸³ Although there is a certain amount of posturing in Byron's Byronic self image, there is none in his mental anguish. Moreover there is nothing 'peculiar' about his 'diabolism' – such a conviction of reprobation was a standard manifestation of Religious Despair.

The 'Bottomless Pit' of Religious Despair⁸⁴

The central factor in Religious Despair is an absolute, unshakeable belief that God hates *you*, making you reprobate. The OED defines 'Reprobate' as 'rejected by God'. Christ's anguished cry before his excruciating demise on the cross is that of the reprobate forsaken by his God, the ultimate paradigm of Despair. The effect of this rejection and terror of damnation on people who were already predisposed to depression, such as Byron, was not a happy one. The history of Calvinism is littered with those who were not able to bear the fatal weight of God's personal hatred.

But what is Religious Despair? Stachniewski's work *Persecutory Imagination* looks at the 'Religious Despair' caused by Calvinism. The Calvinist God actively

⁸¹ *Defense du Dogma Catholique sur l'Eternite des Peines*, in Walker, *Decline of Hell*, p.5.

⁸² Examples of all of these symptoms can be found throughout Byron's letters and journals, and are extensively noted in the recollected conversations of both Blessington and Medwin; Freden, pp.1-3.

⁸³ *On Poetry and Poets*, p.44.

⁸⁴ Bunyan, *Grace Abounding*, (Project Gutenberg E-Book, 1996), p.3.

chooses the elect and the reprobate. In order for the elect to be saved, they must open themselves to God by becoming aware of their Total Depravity, also called sin-consciousness. Sin is a sickness caused by alienation from God. Sin-consciousness is caused by an awareness of this disunion. Calvin describes this state as resulting from a sense of our own 'miserable ruin' which compels us to 'raise our eyes to heaven'. This 'melancholy exposure discovers an immense mass of deformity', thus 'by our own imperfections are we excited to a consideration of the perfections of God'.⁸⁵ The Calvinist writer John Bunyan uses an allegory of washing: to 'wash thy face clean' one first takes a mirror to see 'where it is dirty'. He continues, 'if thou would'st indeed have thy sins washed away by the blood of Christ, labour first to see thy besmeared condition'.⁸⁶

This awareness of Total Depravity is liable to cause self-loathing and depression.⁸⁷ Milton's Satan is tormented by the 'bitter memory' of his sins because 'Of worse deeds worse sufferings must ensue'.⁸⁸ The most famous description of this state is in *Pilgrim's Progress*, still immensely popular in the nineteenth century, particularly in Scotland, and quoted by a number of Byron's favourite authors.⁸⁹ Bunyan describes Christian's allegorical journey to Salvation. This pilgrimage leads him through the Slough of Despond, formed from sin-consciousness and the accompanying terror of Divine retribution.⁹⁰ Many miss the steps through the bog and become mired in sorrow-for-sin. Calvin describes them as 'permanently miserable, in terrible torment or mental confusion' and unable to attain salvation.⁹¹ Preachers would drive their congregations through the Slough of Despond, herding them towards salvation like so many sheep. Despite their benevolent intentions, many became stuck. Stachniewski's book examines the 'casualties of this prescribed paranoia – people who entered the state of despair and failed to surface from it because they could not

⁸⁵ *Institutes* 1.1.1-11.

⁸⁶ *Doctrines of the Laws of Grace Unfolded* (1659). See also 1 John 1.8-9.

⁸⁷ Richard Sibbes notes in the preface to his noted text *The Bruised Reed and the Smoking Flax*, 'as we are prone to sin, so when the conscience is thoroughly awakened, we are as prone to despair for sin', (1635).

⁸⁸ *PL* IV.25-27.

⁸⁹ This includes Johnson, Cowper, Pope, Scott *inter alia*, according to M. Furlong, *Puritan's Progress: A Study of John Bunyan* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1975), pp.13, 180.

⁹⁰ Byron would have been aware of the Slough as it became accepted in public consciousness and terminology as shown by its casual mention in Scott's *Midlothian* p. 19, and Galt's *Annals* p.40.

⁹¹ *Institutes* 3.24; see also *Bruised Reed*, p.37.



Figure 22: 'Christian in the Slough of Despond', by William Blake.

achieve a conviction of divine mercy'.⁹² Religious Despair makes for a bleak chapter in the history of Calvinism.

Martin Luther, the first of the Reformers, provides one of the best examples of the closeness of Despond and Salvation:

I myself have been offended more than once even to the Abyss of despair, nay so far as even to wish that I had not been born a man; that is before I knew how beautiful that despair was, and how near to Grace.⁹³

It is a complex paradox of the Reformed path to salvation: although despair leads to salvation, it also bars the path, and although there is a beneficial state of Despond, there is also a destructive state of Despair. Bunyan depicts this in *Pilgrims Progress*, when Christian and Faithful are captured by the Giant Despair who beats them and urges them to commit suicide, showing them the bones of his other captives who had succumbed to Religious Despair and killed themselves.⁹⁴ The pervasive nature of Despair that consumes the victim's entire existence can be seen in its depiction as a brutal Giant.

Byron's Calvinism and Religious Despair can be better evaluated by contextualising it, examining it alongside the works of others suffering similar mental distress. Although Byron had little direct contact with Lutheranism,⁹⁵ the fact that Luther, a Reformation theologian, not only experienced Religious Despair, which he termed *Anfechtung*, but came out of the other side, makes his writings extremely relevant. Bunyan also suffered Despair. In his autobiographical work, *Grace Abounding*, he frequently refers to the effects of his Religious Despair and, like Byron,⁹⁶ he believed that as 'all things wrought together' according to God's will, so 'all things wrought for my damage, and for my eternal overthrow'.⁹⁷ Here again is the persecution complex of the reprobate who believes that God deliberately decreed his reprobation and predestined his sins, actively ensuring damnation. This comes from the Calvinist teachings on reprobation, where God is shown as calculatedly hardening

⁹² Stachniewski, *Persecutory Imagination*, p.18.

⁹³ G. Rupp, *The Righteousness of God* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1963), p.282.

⁹⁴ *PP*, pp.142-147.

⁹⁵ Byron travelled with a 'lutheran' for a time, BLJ II.4.

⁹⁶ Kennedy, p.189.

⁹⁷ *Grace Abounding*, p.157.

the hearts of the damned so they cannot repent.⁹⁸ Such malice inevitably created a corresponding hatred in those who were its victims.

Milton's Satan, Marlowe's Doctor Faustus and Spenser's Red Cross Knight in *The Faerie Queene* are all noted literary victims of Religious Despair. Satan's 'infinite despair' provides the epigraph for this section,⁹⁹ and there are numerous works examining Faustus' 'deep despair'.¹⁰⁰ Although Byron's distaste for Spenserian poetry is well known,¹⁰¹ nevertheless, he was aware of the popular *Faerie Queene* which reflects the views of pious sixteenth-century Calvinist Protestants. Spenser's depictions of the knight as 'prickt with anguish of his sinnes', a 'dart of sinfull guilt' which causes him to desire 'to end his wretched dayes' after Despair urges him to commit suicide,¹⁰² are often thought to owe their accuracy and power to Spenser's own melancholia and potential Religious Despair.¹⁰³ However, there is another work that contains an equally paradigmatic expression of the despairing reprobate's wounded conscience which, like Byron's own poetry, has been largely ignored as an expression of Religious Despair and that is Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein*.¹⁰⁴ In this novel both Frankenstein and his Creature suffer the sense of being persecuted, loathed and rejected, a pronounced conviction of predestined reprobation, and the corrosive agonies of sorrow-for-sin.

William Cowper is perhaps the most noted victim of Religious Despair.¹⁰⁵ Byron was aware of Cowper's Despair, describing him as a 'maniacal Calvinist',¹⁰⁶

⁹⁸ See Chapter Three and the final Conclusion for further details of this.

⁹⁹ PL IV.75

¹⁰⁰ *Doctor Faustus* I.xiii.42.; K.K. Cheung, 'The Dialect of Despair in *Doctor Faustus*', in *A Poet and a Filthy Play-Maker: New Essays on Marlowe*, ed. K. Freidenreich (New York: AMS Press, 1988); L.B. Cambell, 'Doctor Faustus A Case of Conscience', *PMLA*, 67, (1952), pp. 219-239; J.C. Mcklosky, 'The Theme of Despair in Marlowe's *Faustus*', *College English*, 4, (1942), pp. 110-113.

¹⁰¹ Hunt discusses Byron's aversion to Spenser and *Faerie Queene*, in *Lord Byron and some of his Contemporaries*, (London: Henry Colburn, 1828), pp.45-46.

¹⁰² FQ I.xxi; see Appendix 1.

¹⁰³ Alvarez, pp.175-177. Spenser's 'melancholic disposition' is also discussed in B.E.C. Davis, *Edmund Spenser: A Critical Study* (Cambridge: University Press, 1933), pp.1-4, 66, 111.

¹⁰⁴ The only work which even briefly examines this is J. Goodall, 'Frankenstein and the Reprobate's Conscience', *Studies in the Novel*, 31, (1999), pp.19-43.

¹⁰⁵ D. Cecil, *The Stricken Deer or a Life of Cowper* (London: Constable & Co, 1930); M. Quinlan, 'William Cowper and the Unpardonable Sin', *Journal of Religion*, 23, (1943), pp.110-116; 'Memoir of William Cowper' *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 97, (1953), pp.359-382; R. Southey, *The Works of William Cowper with a Life of the Author* (London: H.G. Bohn, 1853).

¹⁰⁶ BLJ IV, 332; BLJ VII. 101. See also BLJ I.110; BLJ III. 179; Appendix 2, numbers 59 and 114; Appendix 3, number 70.



Figure 23: Portrait of William Cowper after Thomas Lawrence, by W. Blake.¹⁵

¹⁵ From the British Museum.

and discussing his 'sickness, despondency and madness'.¹⁰⁷ Cowper's biographer, Robert Southey,¹⁰⁸ blames Cowper's exaggerated Protestant 'self condemnation' for his 'diseased mind'.¹⁰⁹ Cowper's depressive tendencies are aligned with a Calvinist conviction of reprobation, causing Religious Despair.¹¹⁰ Cowper believed he 'was destined to suffer everlasting martyrdom in fire' which resulted in 'infinite despair' and 'inexpressible bitterness' against God and Life,¹¹¹ which 'the vindictive rod of angry justice' has rendered a living hell.¹¹² This culminates in a wish to be unborn, a typical response of the despairing. Bunyan wishes something similar, as do Luther and both Frankenstein and his Creature. So, interestingly, do Byron's characters Cain and Manfred. Ironically, unlike Byron, Cowper appears to have led an exemplary life. This reemphasises the arbitrariness of God's choice of reprobate. Unlike Bunyan and Luther, Cowper never escaped the tormenting conviction that he was rejected by God and destined for damnation. He believed that 'a soul once slain, lives no more', perceiving Despair as a pack of 'spiritual hounds' that hunted his soul through the dark night of his despondency, seeking to destroy it.¹¹³ By 1773, this Despair-induced madness became permanent and, after numerous suicide attempts,¹¹⁴ Cowper was sectioned for his own safety, dying on the 25th of April, 1800.¹¹⁵

It was the rising suicide rates that first drew attention to the unfortunate side effects of Calvin's doctrines concerning predestined reprobation. The first book on suicide, written by the 'Scottish Puritan' John Sym in 1637,¹¹⁶ describes the mentality of the guilty whose fear of punishment:

Overcharges the wounded conscience, when withal a man apprehends
himself to be wholly destitute of true grace, and deserted and forsaken of
God; given over to a reprobate sense; whereby he cannot rest and is
comfortlesse, and at last is swallowed up of utter desperation; living as if he

¹⁰⁷ BLJ VI. 85. Also discussed in Kennedy, pp. 168-170.

¹⁰⁸ Southey was famously friends with Wordsworth and Coleridge and a severe critic of Byron; Southey's 'Satanic School' tirade against Byron in *Vision of Judgement* accused him of infidelity and depravity.

¹⁰⁹ Southey, pp.7-8.

¹¹⁰ T.R. Glover, *Poets and Puritans* (London: Methuen & Co, 1915), p.145.

¹¹¹ Cecil, pp.267-268.

¹¹² 'Hatred and Vengeance'.

¹¹³ *Letters and Prose Writings of William Cowper*, cited in Jamison, p.20.

¹¹⁴ Southey, pp.99, 108; Cecil, pp. 62-67; Winslow, *Anatomy of Suicide* (1840), pp.144-145.

¹¹⁵ Glover, pp.144-174.

¹¹⁶ M. MacDonald, 'Introduction', in J. Sym, *Life Preservatives Against Self-Killing* (New York: Routledge, 1988), p.xxv.

were continually in hell, sensibly feeling, as he thinks, the flames and tortures of the damned, in his conscience: Fore ease out of which estate, men many times kill themselves.

This is a fascinating dissection of the inner workings of the mind of the convinced reprobate. Owing to the immutable nature of God's decrees, a reprobate can never evade damnation. It is hardly surprising that people decided 'to destroy their own lives' convinced that God hated them personally and hating Him in return.

Furthermore, their predestined damnation meant there could be no added stigma from committing suicide.¹¹⁷ Cambridge, Byron's own university, was strongly Calvinistic, especially Byron's college Trinity, and appears to have been particularly affected by Religious Despair judging by the spate of deaths which came to be known as the Cambridge Suicides.¹¹⁸

Religious Despair caused indescribable mental agonies, making the earthly existence seem more hellish than Hell itself, shown by the fact that many despairing actually committed suicide, ensuring their damnation, rather than endure the mental pain of the 'accusing Conscience which is Hell'.¹¹⁹ Calvinism differentiates between *poena sensus*, the torment of the senses, i.e. physical suffering in Hell, and *poena damni*, spiritual or mental torment.¹²⁰ Religious Despair, caused by knowledge of God's hatred and rejection, is the ultimate form of *poena damni*. Unlike hell with its physical boundaries, the 'bruised conscience' suffered by the despairing caused unremitting mental agonies - quite literally, a living hell on earth. Cowper alludes to this, describing himself as 'Buried above ground' in a 'fleshly tomb'.¹²¹ It was this mental anguish that caused many, Cowper included, to perceive suicide as the only means of escape.

The poem from which these lines were taken is of particular interest in this context because it seems that Mary Shelley was aware of the work and has the

¹¹⁷ Sym, p.218.

¹¹⁸ One particularly graphic account of suicide is in Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, better known as the *Book of Martyrs*, still popular throughout the nineteenth century. Foxe describes the suicide of John Randall, a Cambridge scholar, in 1531. Cited in Stachniewski, *Persecutory Imagination*, pp. 30, 49 and Boulger, *Calvinist Temper*, p.42.

¹¹⁹ J. Bauthumley, *The Light and Dark Sides of God* (London: William Leamer, 1650), p.339.

¹²⁰ P. Marshall, 'The Reformation of Hell? Protestant and Catholic Infernalism in England 1560-1640', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 61, (2010), p.289.

¹²¹ 'Hatred and Vengeance' St. 5.



Figure 24: Portrait of Mary Shelley, by Richard Rothwell.¹⁶

¹⁶ From the National Portrait Gallery.

Creature in *Frankenstein* quote a number of the lines. Cowper believes his personal living hell is caused by God's 'Hatred and Vengeance' which are his 'eternal portion' because of his reprobation. The Creature believes he is 'doomed to live' because 'hatred and vengeance must be [his] portion'. Both Cowper and the Creature are rejected by Man and God because they are reprobate. Although Chantler sees these parallels as characteristic of the Gothic genre, in fact they are typical expressions of Religious Despair.¹²² The fact that Mary Shelley was aware of Cowper's poem and used it in *Frankenstein* means that Byron was almost certainly aware of the poem in its original form, given his appreciation of Cowper, and he is likely to know the passages from her novel.

Byron experienced a sin-consciousness which seems to have worsened his congenital depression, possibly resulting in sorrow-for-sin. He arguably had a personal understanding of the agonies of *poena damni*, which far outstripped the physical torments of Dante's subterranean dungeons. Lady Blessington recalls his criticism of Calvinists:

Not content with foredooming [the sinner] to eternal punishment hereafter, endeavour, as much as they can, to render his earthly existence as painful as possible.¹²³

Byron knew about Religious Despair, not only from his knowledge of sufferers such as Cowper, but also from his extensive reading. In particular the sixteenth-century Protestant Robert Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* was a sort of anthology containing a great deal of information on Despair, its divine and diabolic causes, and its victims, including excerpts from Luther and Perkins. Byron owned at least one copy,¹²⁴ describing it as the 'most useful' book 'with which [he was] acquainted'.¹²⁵ Moreover, his introspective study of his depression might well have led him to draw parallels between his own reprobation-induced misery and that of other despairing reprobates.

¹²² A. Chantler, 'Echoes of Cowper in *Frankenstein*', *Notes and Queries*, 46, (1999), pp.33-34.

¹²³ Blessington, pp.67-68.

¹²⁴ Appendix 2, number 45; Appendix 3, number 41; BLJ III. 243; VIII. 238.

¹²⁵ Appendix 1; Blessington, pp. 270-271. Mary Shelley also praises Burton's *Anatomy* and it is likely that this is one source of her information on the Religious Despair which she incorporates into *Frankenstein*, for more see Goodall, '*Frankenstein* and the Reprobate's Conscience', pp.32-33.

Byron's poetry contains a number of parallels with other works featuring Religious Despair, particularly with reference to the internal agonies of the wounded conscience. These agonies come from the conviction of reprobation and sense of alienation from God. Cowper's poem 'Hatred and vengeance my eternal portion' is a vivid example of the reprobate's sense of absolute rejection – depicting Cowper's belief that 'Man disavows, Deity Disowns' and even hell itself, the ultimate destination of the reprobate, has 'bolted' its gates against him. Again there are links with *Frankenstein* where the Creature perceives himself as equally 'wretched', 'hated' by all living things and rejected by Nature itself.¹²⁶ His god-like creator opts to 'detest and spurn' him, leaving him a 'poor, miserable, helpless wretch', identical to the abandoned reprobate in the Slough of Despond.¹²⁷ Frankenstein himself is equally destitute, he 'wandered a friendless outcast o'er the earth', likening himself to a 'blasted tree' in a similar fashion to Byron and Manfred.¹²⁸ It is possible to postulate that the similarity of language and indeed the overall depictions of Religious Despair and predestined reprobation in *Frankenstein* are at least in part based on Mary Shelley's experiences and understanding of Byron's mindset. After all, a large part of *Manfred* was written during the time they spent together, and her husband was certainly aware of Byron's complex religious beliefs and the depression they engendered, as can be seen from *Julian and Maddalo*.¹²⁹

The reprobate abandoned by nature can also be seen in *Cain*, where the additional lines of Eve's final repudiation of her reprobate son urge the whole world to reject him:

May the grass wither from thy foot! The woods
 Deny thee shelter! Earth a home! The dust
 A grave! The sun his light! And heaven her God.¹³⁰

Here again can be found a trenchant sense of isolation and abandonment, similar to that described by Luther who wrote that 'he who is an enemy of God has the whole creation against him'.¹³¹ Cain is not only repudiated by his own mother, but nature

¹²⁶ *Frankenstein*, pp.77, 114.

¹²⁷ *Frankenstein*, pp.77, 80.

¹²⁸ *Frankenstein*, pp.133, 161.

¹²⁹ See *Julian and Maddalo*, Preface, also l.160.

¹³⁰ *Cain* III.440-442. BLJ VIII. 206.

¹³¹ Rupp, *Righteousness of God*, p.107.



Then Satan first knew pain, / And writhed
him to and fro

Book VI., lines 327-328

Figure 25: Illustration of Satan's anguish in *Paradise Lost* by Gustave Dore.

itself rejects him and the very earth refuses him the shelter of a grave – it is a striking depiction of the emotional and mental destitution of the reprobate's Despair.

The most famous literary reprobate is Milton's Satan in *Paradise Lost*, whose hopeless cry of 'Which way I fly is hell; myself am hell', is echoed by all the sufferers of Calvinist Despair:

Me Miserable! Which way shall I fly
Infinite wrath, and infinite despair?
Which way I fly is hell; myself am hell.
And, in the lowest deep, a lower deep
Still threatening to devour me opens wide,
To which hell I suffer seems a heaven.¹³²

God's eternal anger has inflicted an eternal anguish on Satan from which there is no escape.¹³³ Even the depths of despairing suffering which he currently suffers are as nothing to the future torments he will endure. It is the terror of the pain to come which renders his current existence so hideous. The despairing conscience is an internal hell, an 'abyss of fears / And horrors' which is infinitely worse than physical hell where we first find Satan, bound 'in adamant chains' and rolling in 'penal fire'.¹³⁴ This hell is 'within him' and cannot be escaped anymore than he can escape from himself 'By change of place'.¹³⁵ The Section epigraph is a vivid description of the agonies of this Despair. The fact that both Frankenstein and his Creature express this Satanic sentiment provides one of the most concrete proofs of their mutual Religious Despair.¹³⁶ It also provides another source for Byron's own understanding and awareness of Milton's despairing Satan, or alternatively, another source of evidence of his own sense of Religious Despair which Mary Shelley linked with the Miltonic Satan.

¹³² *PL* IV.74-79.

¹³³ Luther makes a similar comment on the 'Wrath of the eternal God which can never have an end', Rupp, *Righteousness of God*, p.107.

¹³⁴ *PL* I.44-49.

¹³⁵ Book IV, l.475; IV, ll.26-29; Appendix 2, number 8.

¹³⁶ Frankenstein describes how he 'bore a hell within me that nothing could extinguish', p.68. the Creature states that 'I, like the arch-fiend, bore a hell within me' and although he 'resolved to fly far from the scene of my misfortune' his reprobation meant that 'every country must be equally horrible', pp.111, 113-114.

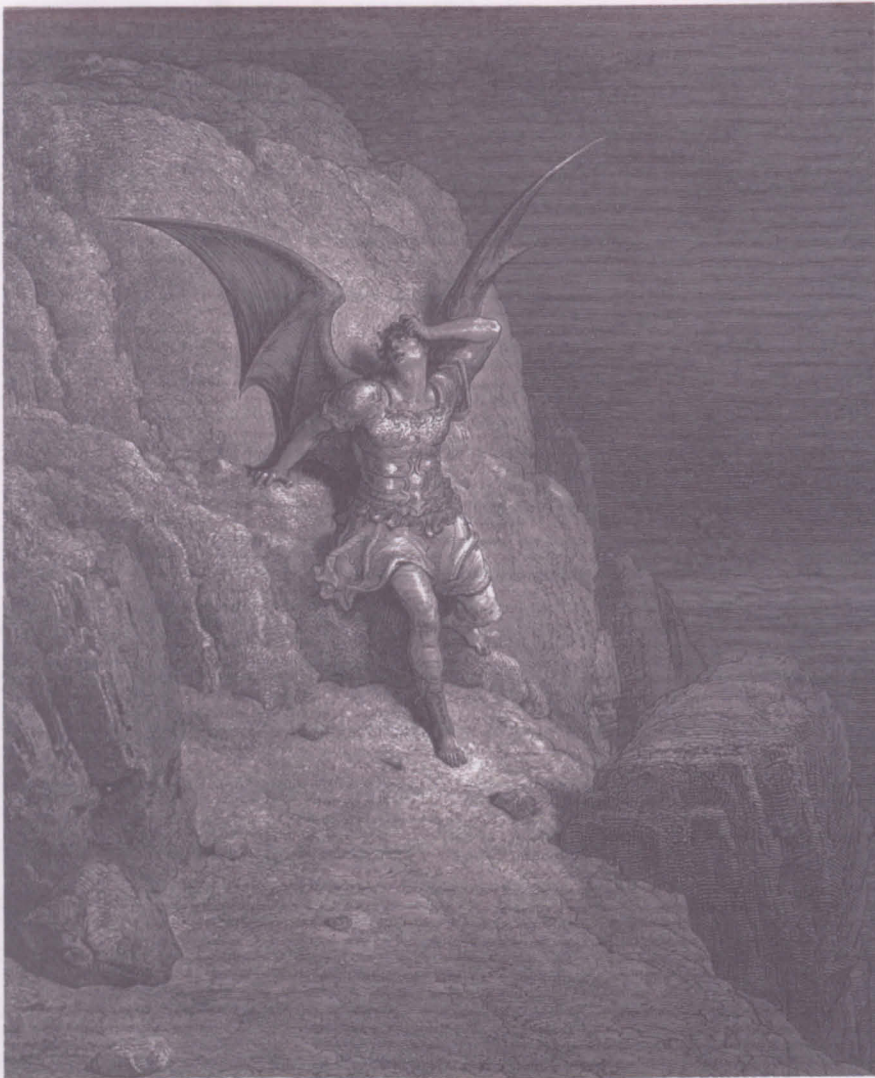
One can see a persistent concept of flight and a desire to escape the internal stygian pit running through Calvinist literature on Religious Despair. Calvin describes it as the inevitable response to Despair, noting that the 'revengement of God' is even worse when reprobates 'labour to fly away from it'.¹³⁷ Byron alludes to this in *Childe Harold* Canto I, in which Harold bears a 'secret woe', 'corroding youth and joy'. Like other sufferers of Despair, Harold loathes his 'present state' and wishes to 'fly' in an attempt to escape the 'settled ceaseless gloom' of his internal anguish. As with Milton's Satan, he is unable to evade his sense of damnation:

What Exile from himself can flee?
To zones though more and more remote,
Still, still pursues, where'er I be,
The blight of life, the Demon Thought.¹³⁸

This quotation portrays the impossibility of trying to escape Religious Despair. The use of 'blight' is particularly forceful, conjuring a vision of barren desolation, with similar connotations to the use of 'envenomed' discussed earlier. This is heightened by the reference to exile in lands so 'remote' that they are merely 'zones' rather than specific nations. The circular connotations of 'zones' allow for an alternative interpretation of the word, associated with the circles of hell. Moreover, there are also sexual implications as the OED provides 'girdle' as an alternative. It is probable that Byron would have been aware of this secondary, sexualized meaning. Harold's flight to 'zones' could therefore be interpreted as an attempt to forget his fear of damnation by having sex and indulging in other sensual distractions. Arguably, Harold's aptly titled Continental 'Pilgrimage' is an extremely Orthodox response to the sin-consciousness of the despairing reprobate. This concept of travel as soothing the wounded conscience reflects the traditional Christian notions of pilgrimage. Bunyan portrays Christian's Pilgrimage through Despond and into Salvation; Dante has to travel through Hell into Paradise. Cain's celestial travels can be read as a similar attempt to escape his growing dissatisfaction with life. It is interesting that his travels to alleviate his depression drive Cain into full-blown Religious Despair, supporting Calvin's argument that those who try to flee will suffer more. His subsequent murder of Abel is an expression of this, revealing the full extent of his Despair as he no

¹³⁷ *Institutes* 1.3.2; Luther also notes that it 'is the nature of a guilty conscience, to fly and be terrified', subsequently noting that 'there is no flight, no comfort, within or without, but all things accuse', Rupp, *Righteousness of God*, p.107

¹³⁸ *CHP* I, 'To Inez' St. 1-6.



Me miserable! which way shall I fly / Infinite
wrath, and infinite despair!

Book IV., lines 73-74

Figure 26: Illustration of Satan's Despair by Gustave Dore.

longer has any regard for Life.¹³⁹ Although, obviously, there were other factors, it is possible to see Byron's self-exile from Britain and frequent moves as resulting in part from his persistent sin-consciousness, encouraged by his melancholic conviction in his reprobation and his desire to escape this.

One of the most interesting depictions of Byron as suffering Despair is in *Nightmare Abbey*. Peacock's character Mr. Cyprus, a caricature of Byron, declaims a poem on the agonies of 'a fever of the spirit / The brand of Cain's unresting doom' which afflicts 'lone dark souls' and 'burns, blasts, consumes' the heart, banishing all hope, joy and desire, and reducing 'hope, love, life itself' to 'Dust' and 'spectral memories'. This indicates how Byron's depression was perceived by his peers. The language used to describe the effects of this spiritual affliction is identical to that used by Frances Jeffrey in his review of *Manfred* describing the characteristics of the Byronic anti-hero, again linking Byron's mental state with that of his characters.¹⁴⁰ The idea that this destructive fever only afflicts the 'lone dark souls' implies that Byron already has depression and something else infects him, making the depression worse and utterly consuming his life, leaving blasted desolation. This sickness is likened to Cain's 'unresting doom', i.e. reprobation. The poem can be interpreted as a representation of Religious Despair. Peacock was himself a manic depressive with suicidal tendencies, frequently expressing a marked hatred of God, particularly after the deaths of his wife and daughter.¹⁴¹ A potential sufferer of Religious Despair, believing himself damned on his deathbed, it is possible that his own depressive tendencies would have given him an insight into Byron's depression, utilised in his depiction of Mr Cyprus.

Stachniewski provides an intriguing argument as to a potential side effect of Despair, contending that:

¹³⁹ BLJ VIII.214-216.

¹⁴⁰ *Edinburgh Review*, 18, (1817), p.418.

¹⁴¹ In one letter to Forster, Peacock condemned Anglican Protestantism as 'a grovelling, misanthropical, blood-thirsty superstition', Joukovsky, *Letters of Thomas Love Peacock*, I, pp. lii, lxiv, 50, 189-197, 107.

The sense of being discriminated against focused the self as the object of discrimination and stimulated too the fantasy of an ego-ideal who would be favoured and accepted.¹⁴²

Although again one hesitates to read too much into an argument or pay too much attention to Byron the man and neglect his poetry, the frequent discussions concerning the level of interrelation between Byron and his poetic characters permit of such an inference here. Byron certainly felt discriminated against. He cultivated a more flamboyant, stylised alter-ego, combined with the Byronic hero. For a time this fantasy 'ego-ideal' was accepted, Byron-the-poet and the poetry-of-Byron conflated into a single entity, the much feted darling of society – an ideal situation for a despairing reprobate. Ultimately this alter-ego was also vilified. It could be that when Byron experienced in full the sense of universal rejection, characteristic of the despairing, he again became Stachniewski's 'object of discrimination'. So he goes abroad and creates a new ego-ideal, emulating the Miltonic Satan, the valiant revolutionary, fighting for liberty. Byron's denunciation of Armenian subjugation by Turkey, his dealings with the Italian Carbonari and above all his involvement with the Greek revolution are evidence of this final search for an 'ego-ideal' that would be 'favoured and accepted'. *Don Juan* can be seen as representing yet another fantasy of acceptance, of the narrator as an urbane socialite, adored by women. This ego-ideal was also rejected by the public as impious and scandalous. Byron's self-aggrandising marketing and re-invention is in fact a characteristic response of the despairing reprobate to the fear of damnation and sense of rejection by God.

It is important to remember that Religious Despair was still prevalent in Byron's lifetime. A review of Hogg's *Confessions* in 1824, the year of Byron's death, alludes to those in 'mad-houses' whom Calvinist doctrines have 'driven to insanity'.¹⁴³ Moreover, works on Despair were still being published. One example is Blakeway's 1717 *Essay Towards the cure of Religious Melancholy in a Letter to a Gentlewoman Afflicted with it*, which lists a number of precipitating factors causing Religious Despair which are applicable to Byron.¹⁴⁴ Another is Kierkegaard's 1849 work *The Sickness Unto Death*, which lists a number of categories of Religious

¹⁴² Stachniewski, *Persecutory Imagination*, p.109.

¹⁴³ *Monthly Critical Gazette*, (1824), p.483, cited in the prologue to Hogg's *Confessions* by Garside.

¹⁴⁴ For more on this, see Walker, *The Decline of Hell*.



Figure 27: A Map of Christian's Journey to Salvation, based on Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*.

Despair which Byron qualifies for.¹⁴⁵ Incidentally, it appears that Kierkegaard himself suffered from Despair which again lends his work a personalized validity.¹⁴⁶ Although one might try and argue that the prevalence of Religious Despair from the 1560s to 1800s was simply a reflection of the growing understanding of depression in a period which lacked the current medical terminology, the fact that a number of modern psychiatrists retain the classification of a peculiarly religious form of depression, with all the same triggers and hallmarks as Calvinist Religious Despair, would seem to undermine this line of reasoning.

Sym notes that those most prone to Despair are those ‘guilty of horrible crying crimes’. Equally, the ‘extremely melancholick’ will be especially affected by the ‘horror of their sinnes; and with feare of the punishment due for them’.¹⁴⁷ Byron committed numerous sins, discussed below, and was manifestly both of a ‘melancholick’ disposition and convinced of his reprobation and punishment. Moreover, Religious Despair is still acknowledged as a symptom of depression.¹⁴⁸ This is generally accepted as resulting from a number of contributory factors including the loss of parent(s) at a young age, sexual conflict, bereavement of close friends, and a conviction that one has sinned beyond all forgiveness.¹⁴⁹ All of these are applicable to Byron. If Religious Despair can still occur in this modern, relatively secular age – how much more likely is it that Byron, indoctrinated in the full-blown Calvinism of the Church of Scotland, burdened by a conviction of his own reprobation, should be a victim of Despair?

Cowper, Bunyan and Luther all railed against God when in the grip of Religious Despair. Milton’s Satan was punished with Despair for challenging God and reacted with an even stronger hatred. Byron’s attacks on the ‘unspiritual God’ and ‘miscreator’ could result from his own Despair, ‘the woes we see not – which throb through / The immedicable soul, with heart-aches ever new’. In fact the entire stanza from which this quotation is taken, discussed earlier with reference to Byron’s misanthropic God, could be re-read as an expression of Despair. The ‘boundless upas,

¹⁴⁵ S. Kierkegaard, *Sickness Unto Death* (London: Penguin Classics, 2008); Bringle, p.101.

¹⁴⁶ G. Marino, ‘Kierkegaard in the Present Age’, *New York Times* (28.10.2009), pp.22-23; M. Bringle, *Despair: Sickness or Sin?* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1990), p.102.

¹⁴⁷ Sym, *Life Preservatives*, pp.248, 254.

¹⁴⁸ White, *The Masks of Melancholy*, p.13.

¹⁴⁹ W.E. Oates, *Religious Factors in Mental Illness* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1957), pp.36-38.

this all blasting tree' that destroys life could be the desolation of Religious Despair rather than Original Sin, caused by a God 'Whose touch turns hope to dust'. This reiterates the link between Byron's hatred of God and his Religious Despair, caused by his Calvinistic conviction of his own reprobation. In fact, almost all of the passages examined in 'Byron's Misanthropic Deity' could be reinterpreted as expressions of a despairing reprobate, hating life and the God who manifestly hates him. This 'ruling principle of Hate' who 'makes and helps along / Our coming evils' is identical to the perceptions of God by despairing reprobates who believe He has deliberately contrived their sins to ensure their reprobation because He hates them directly, specifically and personally.

Byron's Reprobation: 'Mine were the faults and mine be their reward'¹⁵⁰
 Ultimately, Religious Despair is caused by terror of Hell. As Camporesi notes, in this 'post-infernal age' it is difficult to understand the gut-wrenching dread of Hell so vividly depicted in Medieval and Renaissance paintings and described by Bunyan, Burton, Cowper and others.¹⁵¹ Arguably the most striking depiction of Hell is literary – Dante's *Inferno*. Byron greatly admired 'the Tuscan father's comedy divine', referring to him as the Southern Scott and praising *Inferno*,¹⁵² which he often read and even translated.¹⁵³ Byron drew parallels between himself and various damned in a number of the circles of Hell.¹⁵⁴ This provides further evidence of his awareness of his own sins and his belief in his future damnation.

Dante's Hell not only includes fiery tortures but also numerous mental agonies, ranging from the Dark Wood of depression to the apathetic Sullen, lurking in the congealing slime of the Styx, and culminating in the Wood of Suicides and Dante's breakdown at the gates of City of Dis.¹⁵⁵ Dante's desolate Wood of Suicides

¹⁵⁰ 'Epistle to Augusta' St. 4.

¹⁵¹ Bunyan, *A few Sighs from Hell, or the Groans of the Damned Soul* (London: M. Wright, 1658); Cowper's views have been footnoted above; R. Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, 3 vols (London: G Bell & Sons, 1923), III, p.256.

¹⁵² *CHP* IV.40; Appendix 1; Appendix 3, numbers 93, 310 and 311; Appendix 4, number 207.

¹⁵³ *BLJ* III. 36, 70, 133; *BLJ* VI. 131, 181, 188; *BLJ* VII. 44, 209; *BLJ* VIII. 39, 93. For more on popularity of Dante see D. Wallace, 'Dante in English', in *The Cambridge Companion to Dante*, ed. R. Jacoff (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 281-304; M. Caesar ed., *Dante: The Critical Heritage* (London: Routledge, 1989); S. Ellis, *Dante and English Poetry: Shelley to T.S. Eliot* (Cambridge: CUP, 1983), pp. 3-35 discusses Shelley and Dante, pp.36-65 deals with Byron and Dante – in particular pp. 38-40 list all of Byron's references to Dante in his poems.

¹⁵⁴ *BLJ* VI. 129.

¹⁵⁵ *Inferno* I.93, VII, XIII



Figure 28: "The Blasphemers with the Usurers and the Sodomites", by William Blake.



Figure 29: "The Punishment of Jacopo Rusticucci and His Companions" by William Blake.

is similar to Byron's recurrent image of a withered forest symbolising his depression. Interestingly, Dante also seems to have suffered depression and contemplated suicide.¹⁵⁶ Although as a medieval Catholic, Dante could not have been aware of Calvinist Despair, nonetheless, the frequent presence of purely psychological torments in Dante's Hell again indicates the excruciating anguish of mental persecution and provides an interesting example of the correlation between damnation and the internal hell of the despairing reprobate. By Calvinist times, Dante's Wood of Suicides would have been largely populated by the victims of Despair.

The convinced reprobate believed God had deliberately picked him out for damnation, not only hating the sins but also the sinner, despite the fact that He had actively engendered the sins in the first place. It is this fact which lies at the heart of the anguished mindset of Religious Despair, the conviction that God hated you so much and found you so utterly loathsome that He chose to damn you before the very creation of the world. This gave rise to hatred of God and religious doubt. This can, arguably, be seen most clearly in *Frankenstein*, where the Creature responds to the hatred of his 'unfeeling, heartless creator' with his own hate in the typical fashion of the despairing reprobate,¹⁵⁷ promising 'inextinguishable hatred' towards his 'arch-enemy'.¹⁵⁸

On the one hand, the Creature's hatred is the normal response of those suffering the 'unmingled wretchedness' of Religious Despair.¹⁵⁹ Yet there is an alternative reading from Frankenstein's point of view, and this is of the Creature's vengeance as fulfilling the satanic role of scourge of God, sent to chastise the predestined wicked and make their earthly existence a 'living torture'.¹⁶⁰ The Creature sets himself up to be 'the scourge' and 'author of [Frankenstein's] own speedy

¹⁵⁶ G. Mazotta, 'Life of Dante' in *The Cambridge Companion to Dante*, p.9; Hazlitt 'Lectures on English Poets' in Ceasar, *Dante*, pp.437.

¹⁵⁷ *Frankenstein*, p.114.

¹⁵⁸ *Frankenstein*, pp.77, 114, 119,

¹⁵⁹ *Frankenstein*, p.65.

¹⁶⁰ *Frankenstein*, p.61. Frankenstein's perception of himself as a predestined reprobate can be seen throughout the text, from various phrases and speeches in which he describes how: 'I foresaw obscurely that I was destined to become the most wretched of human beings! Alas I prophesied truly, and failed only in one single circumstance, that, in all the misery I imagined and dreaded, I did not conceive the hundredth part of the anguish I was destined to endure', *Frankenstein*, p.55.

ruin'.¹⁶¹ Like Religious Despair itself, the Creature is inescapable and destroys Frankenstein's life, making it nothing more than 'a hell of intense tortures'.¹⁶² He is described as a fiend, a demon and the devil, 'a depraved wretch who delights in carnage and misery'.¹⁶³ This terminology explicitly links the Creature with the Calvinist traditions concerning the origins of Religious Despair in the convinced and convicted reprobate. Calvinists taught that God deliberately abandoned the wicked to the clutches of Satan, who not only lures people into sins but also tempts them into Despair.¹⁶⁴ As God chose those reprobate to be given over to Satan, allowing him to encourage Despair in them, arguably that Despair was sent by God, another scourge.¹⁶⁵ This is vividly shown in the biblical story of Nebuchadnezzar, whose madness was a divine punishment for disbelief, and in *Paradise Lost* when Satan's rebellion is punished by exile and Despair. Both Cowper and Bunyan believed their Despair came from God.¹⁶⁶ They saw it as proof of their reprobation, because God would only punish the reprobate. Cowper describes his mental agonies as coming from 'the vindictive rod of angry justice'. The specific scourge-imagery links his Religious Despair with punishment from God for his wickedness. Thus it becomes a vicious circle: fear of reprobation causes Despair which is taken as proof of that reprobation, which intensifies the Despair. Moreover, Religious Despair is not only a sign of reprobation but a sin itself and therefore doubly justifies reprobation. Byron often alludes to the link between depression or Despair and Divine punishment. In *Cain*, Abel warns his brother that his 'gloom' will 'rouse / The Eternal anger',¹⁶⁷ while *Childe Harold* depicts the melancholic as suffering under 'the demon's sway'.¹⁶⁸ It is possible, therefore, that Byron perceives his own persistent and recurring depression as a proof of his own reprobation and damnation.

¹⁶¹ *Frankenstein*, p.79.

¹⁶² *Frankenstein*, p.69.

¹⁶³ *Frankenstein*, p.57.

¹⁶⁴ Hazlitt, *Table Talk of Martin Luther* (London: H.G. Bohn, 1857), p.111; Luther argued that all such evils 'come from the devil' who 'seduces us first by the allurements of sin, in order after to plunge us into despair' and all who commit suicide were urged to it by Satan.

¹⁶⁵ Luther believed that those suffering Despair had been given over to Satan by God, as Despair was 'the greatest punishment god can inflict on the wicked', Hazlitt, *Luther*, p.111.

¹⁶⁶ Cowper's minister and friend, John Newton claimed 'the mysterious providence of God' caused Cowper's Despair in the Preface to *Olney Hymns*. Cowper blamed Satan for his Despair, but believed Satan was sent by God, Southey, *Life*, p.98.

¹⁶⁷ *Cain* l.i.53-55.

¹⁶⁸ *CHP* I.84.



Figure 30: 'The Wood of Suicides' by Gustave Doré.¹⁷

¹⁷ From Dante's journey..... p.55

Calvinists taught that Satan fostered Despair by causing people to believe that God hated them.¹⁶⁹ Richard Baxter's *Preservatives against Melancholy* shows how 'the Design of the Devil is to describe God to us as like himself, who is a malicious enemy and delighteth to do hurt'.¹⁷⁰ This causes doubt of God's justice and omnibenevolence, a sin in itself. Bunyan alludes to this in *Pilgrims Progress*, when Giant Despair imprisons Christian in Castle Doubt.¹⁷¹ This doubt was also a sin and sign of reprobation, it caused people to question the goodness and justice of God, and seek after the Gospel-given knowledge of salvation, reserved for the elect alone.

Calvin decreed that those who sought after such forbidden knowledge, without 'the inward testimony of the Holy Spirit' were doubly damned for their presumption.¹⁷² Such a one 'sinks himself in an abyss of total darkness' and his folly will be 'punished with horrible destruction' for attempting to 'rise to the summit of Divine Wisdom' uninvited.¹⁷³ In *Cain*, the main protagonist questions this attitude, asking why 'it be such a sin to seek for knowledge'. Cain then travels through space with Lucifer in search of the knowledge which had been banned from the Edenic 'Paradise of Ignorance' in which his parents had resided. Cain is punished for his curiosity with damnation and Religious Despair. In a similar fashion, Frankenstein's reprobation and Despair come from his quest for forbidden knowledge. In both cases the search for knowledge leads them to study death, Frankenstein in 'vaults and charnel houses' and Cain in the vast reaches of space and the next plane of existence.¹⁷⁴ Though, interestingly, the knowledge they receive is the exact inverse of each other, Cain learns how to kill and Frankenstein became 'capable of bestowing animation on lifeless matter'.¹⁷⁵ In both cases they perform activities formerly reserved for God, resulting in their damnation. Moreover, this damnation is intimated with similar light imagery in both cases. Cain's enlightenment under Lucifer's aegis is 'dim and shadowy', while Frankenstein's revelation is a 'glimmering, seemingly

¹⁶⁹ *Institutes* 1.14.18, 2.4.1.

¹⁷⁰ Stachniewski, *Persecutory Imagination*, p.348.

¹⁷¹ *PP*, pp. 142-147.

¹⁷² *Institutes* 1.7.4.

¹⁷³ *Institutes* 3.20.

¹⁷⁴ *Frankenstein*, pp.33-34.

¹⁷⁵ *Frankenstein*, p.34.

ineffectual light'.¹⁷⁶ This dark light arguably presages their destined damnation, representing a false revelation.

Byron believed himself reprobate. He also believed that the devil harmed men.¹⁷⁷ His fascination with the OT made him aware of biblical reprobates, punished by God with Despair.¹⁷⁸ Moreover, his extensive reading of works such as Burton's *Anatomy* meant he knew of the Calvinist belief that Despair signified reprobation. It is likely that in his more morose moments, convinced of his damnation, he would have seen his recurrent depression as proof of reprobation. Certainly his poetry links depression with guilt and damnation. Lara, the Giaour, Manfred and Cain all suffer depression and are damned. The fact that it is Lucifer who encourages Cain to doubt God, casting him into 'drear dream' of depression, shows Byron's awareness of the diabolic origins of Despair. This can be seen again when Cain cries out to God:

But we, thy children, ignorant of Eden
Are girt about by demons who assume
The words of God, and tempt us with our own
Dissatisfied and curious thoughts.¹⁷⁹

This is remarkably similar to the examples by Baxter and Bunyan – 'demons' pretend to be God and encourage doubt and dissatisfaction. The passage contains the implication that God was aware of the demons' actions, after all what omnipotent Deity wouldn't be aware of impostors?

In order to experience Religious Despair and its accompanying doubt, Byron had to already be at least partially convinced of his own reprobation. Yet why was this? In part it could be because of the social stigma associated with depression, particularly inherited depression as signifying 'bad blood' in a family – a mindset that has only recently begun to change. However, there were a number of other reasons. The elect believed God's Grace had blessed them so they could not sin. Only the reprobate can commit sins and Byron was certainly guilty of many sins. He referred to himself as a 'profligate sinner' who had inherited a 'diabolic disposition'.¹⁸⁰ His

¹⁷⁶ *Frankenstein*, p.35.

¹⁷⁷ BLJ II. 34.

¹⁷⁸ 1 Samuel 16.14-23, 19.8-10; Mark 9.14-29, 12.22-24, 16.17.

¹⁷⁹ *Cain* I.ii.400-403.

¹⁸⁰ BLJ I. 103, 75.

reading of *Inferno* would have reinforced this belief as he qualified for many of the punishments mentioned by Dante, including those for the carnal, the sullen, the violent against nature, the violent against God and the heretics. Other Calvinist sins include indolence,¹⁸¹ excessive luxury,¹⁸² and vanity.¹⁸³ These are equally applicable to Byron, particularly the latter two, as his time in Venice and obsession with his appearance show.¹⁸⁴ To a despairing soul such a barrage of guilt would have been overwhelming, particularly given that Calvinists believe that God has decreed their sins.

Byron's sexual excesses would have further contributed to his feelings of guilt, intensified by his strict Calvinist upbringing. Byron's sexual promiscuity is legendary. There were countless affairs with women of all classes and ages, from Lady Caroline Lamb, Lady Frances Webster and Lady Oxford, to conquests in Athens, Lisbon, and Cadiz. There was also the seemingly endless list of 'promiscuous concubinage' in his 'whore hold' in Venice.¹⁸⁵ Byron's lovers probably included his half-sister, Augusta Leigh. The sense of sin that such a 'perverse passion' must have caused would have been overwhelming.¹⁸⁶ Certainly he believes he is damned for it, linking himself and Augusta with Dante's carnal damned, Paolo and Francesca Rimini, trapped in the winds of the lustful.¹⁸⁷

That Byron held residual Calvinist perceptions of sex can be seen in his depiction of sexual activity in his poetry – on at least three occasions, sex results in death or damnation. The Enochic relationships between the angels and their human lovers are played out against the back drop of the destruction of the entire world in *Heaven and Earth*. In *Don Juan*, Haidee and Juan's 'loving' means they 'run the risk of being damn'd forever', condemned to 'hell and purgatory' and 'an endless shower /

¹⁸¹ Hill, *Faction People*, p.162.

¹⁸² See Chapter Three, Section Two, 'Calvinist Austerity and Dualist Asceticism'.

¹⁸³ A. Anderson, *Tainted Souls and Painted Faces – The Rhetoric of Fallenness in Victorian Culture* (London: Cornell University Press, 1993); F.E. Dolan, 'Taking the Pencil Out of God's hand: Art, Nature and the Face-Painting Debate in Early modern England', *PMLA*, 108, (1993), pp. 224-239.

¹⁸⁴ Byron's vanity was condemned by Walter Scott, who wondered at Byron's obsession with 'his personal appearance' and his 'little white hands', concluding he 'was both proud and vain', JMA MS. 43358.

¹⁸⁵ BLJ VI.106-108; his sexual excesses in Venice are discussed by MacCarthy, *Byron*, pp.340-341.

¹⁸⁶ BLJ III.173-175.

¹⁸⁷ *Inferno* Canto II, BLJ VI. 129, BLJ VII. 58, 72, 112.

Of hell-fire'.¹⁸⁸ While in *The Corsair*, Conrad kissing Gulnare heralds a descent into vice and damnation. After the death of Medora, he could be perceived as existing in the living hell of the despairing reprobate.¹⁸⁹

Moreover, it seems probable that Byron was if not homosexual then most probably bisexual.¹⁹⁰ Homosexuality was illegal in Britain during this time and vilified by society. Byron was aware of the infernal consequences of homosexuality, Dante provides a particularly horrific image of their place in the third ring of the seventh circle of Hell, giving the examples of Jacopo Rusticucci and Brunetto Latini.¹⁹¹ In a fragment on William Beckford, Byron refers to their mutual homosexuality as an 'unhallowed thirst' for 'deeds accurst' – providing further evidence of his belief that such sexual habits caused damnation.¹⁹² Byron lived in a time when many believed that the involuntary 'nocturnal pollutions' of wet dreams would result in their damnation,¹⁹³ and masturbation was still considered a form of self-abuse causing divine punishments ranging from emaciation to blindness.¹⁹⁴ Even sex in wedlock was not safe from guilt for the devout Calvinist.¹⁹⁵ Byron's sexual excesses and homosexuality seem to have contributed to his own expectations of damnation.

The ability to commit sins and suffer Despair were not the only means of determining reprobation. The fearful search for proof of reprobation or election was the driving focus of Calvinist lives. Calvinist divines created lists of signs, perceived as direct messages from God, visible for all to see, enabling the elect and reprobate to confirm their respective states with tangible evidence. Every aspect of life, from social status to the actions of one's relatives and ancestors,¹⁹⁶ even one's own mental

¹⁸⁸ *DJ* Canto II.192-193.

¹⁸⁹ III.506-554, 622-629.

¹⁹⁰ MacCarthy *passim*; also Keegan's *Byron's Othered Self: Contextualising the Homographic Signature; Byron and Greek Love* by L. Crompton (Michigan: Gay Mens Press, 1998) and EA Bernhard Jackson, 'Least like Saints: the Vexed Issue of Byron's Sexuality', *BJ*, 38, (2010), pp.29-37.

¹⁹¹ *BLJ* VI. 131; *Inferno* XV.

¹⁹² 'To Dives A Fragment' (exised from *CHP* I); for more on Byron and Beckford see E. Giddey, 'Byron and Beckford', *BJ*, 6, (1978), pp.38-47; P. Cochrane ed., *Byron and Women [and Men]* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010), pp.19-26

¹⁹³ Cited in Stachniewski, *Persecutory Imagination*, p.116.

¹⁹⁴ For example, see Tissot's *L'Onanisme, dissertation sur les maladies produits par la masturbation* (Lausanne 1760) and other examples in R. Darnton, *The Forbidden Bestsellers*, p.103.

¹⁹⁵ Richard Rogers despaired after thoughts of sex with his wife, Porter, *Tudor Cambridge*, p.220.

¹⁹⁶ Byron alludes to this inheritance of sin in *CHP*, 'one sad losel soils a name for aye', I.iii.2.



Figure 32: 'The Lovers' Whirlwind, Francesca da Rimini and Paolo Malatesta' by William Blake.¹⁸

¹⁸ From *Dante's Journey*, p.28.

state, became indicators of the direction of the spiritual compass, revealing the eventual destination in Heaven or Hell.¹⁹⁷

In a 1794 pamphlet, published in Aberdeen and so particularly relevant for Byron, Bisset lists signs of reprobation. These include:

The loss of health, the bodily pains and disease, the dilapidations of estate and fortune, poverty, shame, reproach, loss of character and reputation and all temporal calamities.¹⁹⁸

These are 'judgements which God inflicts on sinners'.¹⁹⁹ Given that Byron qualifies as suffering from every sign listed, it is hardly surprising that he was further convinced of his own reprobation. His sexual misconduct alone resulted in 'shame, reproach [and] loss of character' to the extent that he was forced into exile, like the reprobate Cain, never to return. However, Byron would also have believed himself reprobate because of his depression, inherited from his 'cut-throat' ancestors, themselves another sign, and because of his poverty and physical deformity.

Evidence of the former can be found in the majority of Byron's letters. Calvin perceived poverty as 'a special punishment and curse from God'.²⁰⁰ Stachniewski provides numerous examples of the Calvinist belief in the 'congruence between the Calvinist God and arbitrarily discriminatory market forces'.²⁰¹ Byron's financial woes need little discussion. His mother sold his birthright to pay her profligate husband's debts, dispossessing the unborn Byron of his ancestral home. Descended from royalty,²⁰² living in straitened circumstances in apartments and terraced houses instead of his own castle, would inevitably have imbued Byron with a sense of his family's financial and social decline. Even when he was again raised to the state of landed gentry, his predecessor's gross mismanagement meant that Byron still suffered

¹⁹⁷ *Institutes* 3.21.7, 3.23.13; there were a number of works such as the 1601 work by A. Dent, *The Plaine Man's Pathway*, lists signs of reprobation including pride, covetousness, swearing, contempt of the Gospel, lying, idleness and depression, cited in Furlong, pp.32-33. Sym also has a lengthy list of signs of reprobation, *Life Preservatives*, pp.259-260.

¹⁹⁸ *Sermon on Isaiah 6.9-12*, p.4. See Also Chapter One of Small, *United Presbyterian Church*, which discusses Bisset and Aberdeen.

¹⁹⁹ Anon., *Sin is the Cause of National Calamities: a Sermon by a Minister of the Church of Scotland* (1800), p.2.

²⁰⁰ *Institutes* 1.16.5.

²⁰¹ Stachniewski, *Persecutory Imagination*, p.139; Hill, *Faction People*, p.20; B. Hilton, *The Age of Atonement, the Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought, 1795-1865* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988).

²⁰² BLJ II. 68.

penury.²⁰³ In fact, money and bankruptcy are perhaps the most consistent subjects in his letters. Given his Calvinist upbringing and sense of pride, ‘the dilapidations of estate and fortune’ must have contributed to Byron’s sense of reprobation.²⁰⁴ Certainly he was aware of the Calvinist perception of poverty as a Divine chastisement, noting in one letter that his financial ruin was caused by ‘the power of God [and] the Devil’ who made him ‘poor and miserable’.²⁰⁵

Finally, like many of his critics, Byron seems to have believed that his lameness was a sign of his diabolic nature and proof of his reprobation: an outer physical sign of his inner spiritual corruption, his very own Mark of Cain, visible for all to see.²⁰⁶ Byron’s belief that God caused sickness and deformity can be seen in his conversations with Kennedy, where he demands how those afflicted had ‘offended their Creator, to be thus subjected to misery’.²⁰⁷ For a good God would only torment the wicked in such a fashion. This is an extremely Calvinistic attitude. One of the marks of individual providence was ‘loss of health, bodily pains and disease’, thus Calvinists perceived deformity as a sign of spiritual corruption.²⁰⁸ The Reformation was characterised by a tendency to perceive the deformed as ‘frightening signs of God’s wrath’, and warnings of his divine displeasure.²⁰⁹ Lund argues that eighteenth-century society viewed the deformed as ‘transgressive, ugly and inherently worthy of contempt’, quoting Thomas Burnet who perceived deformity and disease as ‘symbols of sin, monstrous excrescences on the original smooth face of Nature’.²¹⁰

The most famous literary example is the deterioration of Milton’s Satan from blazing servant of God to shrunken misshapen creature after his rebellion. Reduced from making impassioned speeches under the blazing sun to skulking and muttering by

²⁰³ BLJ II.85, ‘Elegy on Newstead Abbey’.

²⁰⁴ Byron was not alone in this, both Bunyan and Burns experienced similar financial difficulties, perceiving them as directly willed by God and proof of His hatred and their own reprobation. For more on the decline of the Bunyan family fortunes, see Stachniewski, *Persecutory Imagination*, p.138-160; Hill, *Faction People*, pp.16, 41, 135, 140; Furlong, *Puritan’s Progress*, p.14.

²⁰⁵ BLJ II. 25.

²⁰⁶ Blessington, p. 5.

²⁰⁷ Kennedy, p.56.

²⁰⁸ J. Martin, *Beauty and Holiness: The Dialogues Between Aesthetics and Religion* (Princeton: University Press, 1990); *Institutes* 1.14.18, 1.2.19, 3.24.3-4, 3.2.25, 3.8.2, 3.7.10.

²⁰⁹ L. Daston and K. Park, ‘Unnatural Conception: The Study of Monsters in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century France and England’, *Past and Present*, 92, (1981), pp. 24-25.

²¹⁰ R. Lund, ‘Laughing at Cripples: Ridicule, Deformity and the Argument from Design’, *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 39, (2005), pp. 91, 105.



Figure 33: Photograph of Broad Street, Byron's house is the one with the cart outside.¹⁹

¹⁹ From Morgan, p.80.

starlight, Satan's physical degeneration results from his increasing moral degradation.²¹¹ Dore's engravings provide a visual accompaniment to his degeneration. Cowper's *Despair* was probably influenced by his 'childhood deformity' and Bunyan perceived his daughter's blindness to be proof of his own reprobation.²¹² The Creature in *Frankenstein* is undeniably driven to Despair by his loathsome appearance which leads him to be rejected by Man and God alike, reducing his life to an 'accumulation of misery'.²¹³ The Creature is 'endowed with a figure hideously deformed and loathsome' and he bemoans 'the fatal effects of [his] fatal deformity'.²¹⁴ Frankenstein receives sickness and disease as the wages of his diabolic sin of attempting to usurp God's creative powers.²¹⁵ The persistent presence of such opinions in Byron's own time can be seen in the condemnation of the presumed correlation between physical beauty and spiritual morality which is the central theme of *Frankenstein*. Shelley condemns her characters' assumption that goodness and beauty are the same when they view the Creature with revulsion and contempt purely because of his physical appearance. The contrast between Frankenstein's repeated cruelty and the Creature's heart-rending description of his existence as 'an accumulation of anguish' points to the authorial condemnation of Frankenstein's shallow ignorance.²¹⁶ Frankenstein wrongfully assumed that the Creature's 'unearthly ugliness' was a valid indication of his devilry.²¹⁷ It can also be seen as reflecting the controversy of slavery, when human beings were treated like cattle merely because of the colour of their skin. There are a great many similarities between European treatment of slaves and Frankenstein's refusal to admit that the Creature might be a morally good person with emotions and thoughts. This is particularly evident in Frankenstein's derogatory and sub-humanising references to the Creature – he is an 'it' or a 'thing' or a 'fiendish wretch', but never a person.

Another favourite of Byron's,²¹⁸ the Anglican Samuel Johnson, suffered various deformities.²¹⁹ Although not an orthodox Protestant as he ignored or

²¹¹ *PL* I. 591-600; II.456-457; V. 99-102; IV.801; IX. 180.

²¹² Furlong, pp.56-57.

²¹³ *Frankenstein*, p.77.

²¹⁴ *Frankenstein*, pp.90, 96.

²¹⁵ *Frankenstein*, pp.38-43, followed by his death at the close of the book.

²¹⁶ *Frankenstein*, p123.

²¹⁷ *Frankenstein*, p 76.

²¹⁸ *BLJ* I. 111, 113; *BLJ* II. 179, 205, 210; *BLJ* IV. 69, 74, 314; *BLJ* VII. 16, 100, 191; *BLJ* VIII. 12, 19, 21, 103, 115, 164; *BLJ* IX. 32, 86, 89, 180; *BLJ* X. 180; *BLJ* 11. 171; Appendix 1; Appendix 2,

repudiated a number of the thirty-nine articles of the Church of England, Johnson was nevertheless influenced by Calvinist doctrines and known for his piety, pronounced sense of sin and terror of death.²²⁰ A 'spiritual hypochondriac', his fear of death, frequent bouts of depression, poverty and deformity seem to provide a perfect formula for Despair, though no one seems to have examined this topic as yet.²²¹

Like Johnson, Byron suffered depression, poverty and deformity, which arguably contributed to his conviction of reprobation. Others had similar views, the *Morning Post* condemns his irreligion, perceiving him as 'a sort of R[ichard] 3d, deformed in mind and *body*'.²²² The *British Critic* argues that Byron believed his 'fatal injury' to have been caused by 'Providence', describing it as the '*thorn in the flesh*' sent, like the messenger of Satan, to buffet him incessantly'.²²³ Byron's wife provides a number of statements attesting to this conviction in her husband, referring to the 'profoundly mortifying consciousness of his personal defect' and linking it with his belief in 'dark predestination' garnered from his 'early Calvinistic impressions', causing him to connect his lameness with his 'Predestination to Evil'.²²⁴ Another source is Moore, who recalls going home one night with Byron and Rogers, and being accosted by a link boy who cried:

'This way, my Lord'. On Rogers remarking to Byron that the boy seemed to know him, Byron responded 'Know me!' [...] with some degree of bitterness in his tone; 'everyone knows me - I am deformed'.²²⁵

This story demonstrates Byron's pronounced sensitivity towards his lameness. It could be argued that the 'knowledge' which he fears is that his deformed body reflects a crippled morality and represents future damnation. This anecdote reinforces

numbers 158 and 159; see also B. Blackstone, 'Byron and Johnson', *Journal of European Studies*, 10, (1980).

²¹⁹ J. Boswell, *The Life of Samuel Johnson*, 2 vols (London: Charles Dilly, 1799), I, pp.485, 29, 99; Appendix 2, number 43.

²²⁰ For more on his piety and fear of death see Parker, *Skepticism and Literature, an Essay on Pope, Hume, Sterne and Johnson* (Oxford: University Press, 2003), pp.240-44; Glover, p.204; N. Tomkinson, *The Christian Faith and Practice of Samuel Johnson, Thomas Quincey and Thomas Love Peacock* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 1992), pp.57-87.

²²¹ S.C. Roberts, *Dr. Johnson and Others* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958), pp.40-45; Boswell, I, pp. 43, 136, 160, 112; J.C.D. Clark, *Samuel Johnson: Literature, Religion and Cultural Politics* (Cambridge: CUP, 1994).

²²² BLJ III.250.

²²³ *The British Critic, Quarterly Theological Review and Ecclesiastical Record*, IX, (1831), p.264.

²²⁴ Elwin, *Lord Byron's Wife*, pp.270-271.

²²⁵ Moore's *Memoirs* cited in Jamison, *Touched by Fire*, p.167.

opinions such as Lady Byron's and indicates that Byron's sensitivity to his lameness arises from more than mere personal vanity.

Byron's many sins, his deformity, poverty, family descent from 'sated murderers',²²⁶ his depression and his doubts about God were all proof of reprobation and would have contributed to his succumbing to Religious Despair. Moreover, his heretical leanings, discussed in the next two Chapters, would have been fiercely condemned by the Church of Scotland which punished those who 'maintain pernicious principles tending to scepticism and atheism'.²²⁷ The 1661 Act demanded death for all who 'rail upon or curse God', while the 1695 Act added a corollary which included any who questioned the scriptures or providence.²²⁸ Byron rails against the infernal God who torments the weak and afflicts innocent unborn babes, such as himself, with deformity as a sign of their future sins. It is not surprising that Byron's antipathetic perception of such a God resulted in hatred, his own experience of deformity provided further proof of what he saw as God's spiteful cruelty. His vociferous expression of that hatred was not only a sign of reprobation according to Calvinist teachings, but also resulted in Byron being criticised as a sceptic, an atheist and a heretic – all actions which were viewed as further, equally undeniable proof of reprobation.

'The mind's canker in a savage mood': Byron's Poetical Despair²²⁹

Byron's poetic effusions on depression are numerous, arguably revealing a developing awareness of the intricacies of Religious Despair.²³⁰ This section will now examine some of this poetry in greater detail, paying particular attention to *Childe Harold*, *Manfred* and *The Giaour*.

Childe Harold is Byron's most complete expression of depression and Despair. The work in its entirety can be viewed as Byron's articulation of a sense of sin and alienation from God. Harold is initially described as 'sick at heart' with a

²²⁶ 'Elegy on Newstead Abbey', l. 24.

²²⁷ 1696 Act, cited in J.K. Cameron, 'The Church of Scotland in the Age of Reason', *SVEC*, 58, (1967), p.1940.

²²⁸ A. Gordon, *Heresy, its Ancient Wrongs and Modern Rights in these Kingdoms* (London: Lindsay Press, 1913), pp.34-36.

²²⁹ 'The Lament of Tasso', l.5.

²³⁰ They include: 'Stanzas to Augusta', 'Epistle to Augusta', 'My Soul is Dark', 'Farewell to a Lady' as well as those mentioned previously.

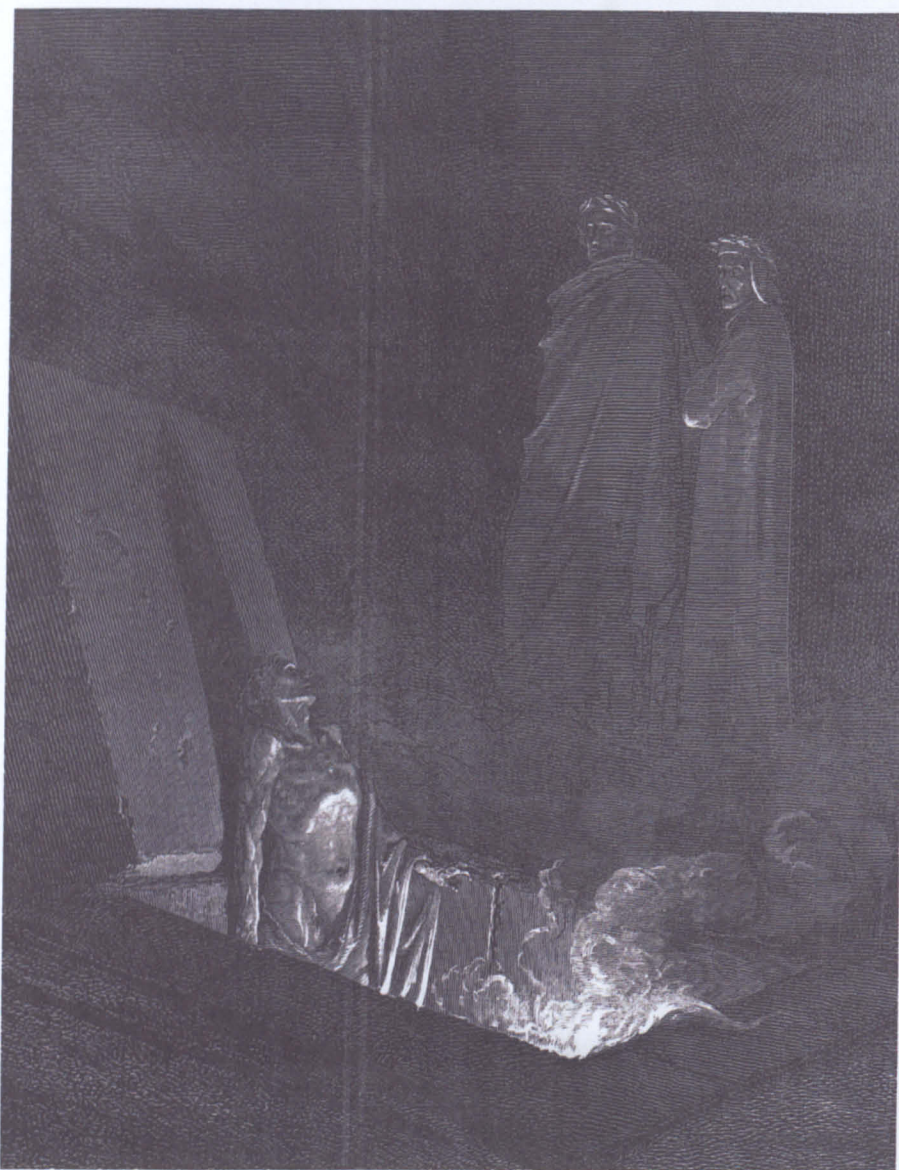


Figure 35: The Heretics in Dante's Inferno by Gustave Dore.²⁰

²⁰ From *Dante's Journey*, p.44.

‘sullen tear’.²³¹ His debauched lifestyle results in a ‘life abhorring gloom’ being branded on his ‘faded brow’.²³² This allusion to reprobation is compounded by likening Harold’s fate with ‘curst Cain’s unresting doom’.²³³ This can be read as delineating Harold’s growing sin-consciousness and sense of alienation from God as he starts down into the Slough of Despond. His sins cause depression, reprobation and a hatred of life similar to that expressed by Cowper, Faustus and Bunyan when in the grip of Despair. In Cantos III and IV Byron’s expressions of despondency are more explicit, mirroring perhaps the development of his personal understanding of Religious Despair.²³⁴ Harold is not merely melancholic but undeniably despairing, the ‘wandering outlaw of his own dark mind’, trapped in his ‘soul’s haunted hell’.²³⁵ His soul is wracked with wounds which ‘will not kill, but ne’er heal’ and ‘gall’d for ever, fettering though unseen’ follow Harold ‘with every step he took’.²³⁶ Like Milton’s Satan, Harold is imprisoned in his mind, which torments his soul more intimately and intensely than any infernal pit and pitch-forked demon. Here again is the bleak desolation of a life wracked by Despair. Byron’s eloquent descriptions of the deadly grip which Despair has on the mind continue throughout Canto III:

There is a very life in our despair,
 Vitality of poison, - a quick root
 Which feeds these deadly branches; for it were
 As nothing did we die; but Life will suit
 Itself to Sorrow’s most detested fruit,
 Like to the apples on the Dead Sea’s shore.²³⁷

Despair is blighted nature, deformed by mental torment, poisoned by sin - the root which feeds the branches of death and depression. As with the poisonous Upas tree, the tree of Despair corrodes everything and its only fruit is that of ‘Sorrow’ which renders life itself like death. This last conceptualisation is communicated by the word ‘ashes’, reminiscent of funeral rites, along with the common associations of the taste of ashes signifying defeat or death. The terminology has a number of biblical terms which encourage a religiously inflected reading of anguish here. Words such as

²³¹ *CHP* I.6.

²³² *CHP* I.5 and 27.

²³³ *CHP* I.83.

²³⁴ *CHP* III.3, 5, 8 and 9.

²³⁵ *CHP* III.3, 5.

²³⁶ *CHP* III.8, 9.

²³⁷ *CHP* III.34.

‘fruit’, ‘apples’, ‘root’, ‘branches’ and the allusion to Israel are reminiscent of the Genesis narrative. The destructive nature of this theologically-induced dejection conjures up an idea of the suffering mind as a blasted landscape, charred beyond all hope of resurrection.

The more sins committed, the deeper the Despair. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that Canto IV of *Childe Harold*, written in 1818 and based on Byron’s own experiences of decadence and sexual debauchery in Venice, should contain the most emotive expressions of Despair. This was not only vehemently condemned by Shelley,²³⁸ but also by Byron’s Armenian tutor, Fr. Pascal Aucher, whose comments in his diary on Byron’s ‘indecent life in Venice’ represent an unpublished and neglected source on Byron.²³⁹ The below lines from *Childe Harold* support Aucher’s criticisms and show the narrator as increasingly despairing, with a detailed awareness of the ‘texture’ of that Religious Despair. Moreover, Canto IV has long been perceived by critics as a more direct transcription of the poet’s thoughts and views, almost doing away with the eponymous hero and replacing him with the poet-narrator, Byron:

Or, it may be, with demons, who impair
The strength of better thoughts, and seek their prey
In melancholy bosoms, such as were
Of moody texture from their earliest day,
And loved to dwell in darkness and dismay,
Deeming themselves predestin’d to a doom
Which is not of the pangs which pass away;
Making the sun like blood, the earth a tomb,
The tomb a hell, and hell itself a murkier gloom.²⁴⁰

This is the most detailed depiction of Religious Despair in Byron’s writings, revealing his understanding of the various contributing factors and symptoms. Demons ‘prey’ on those ‘melancholy bosoms’ with an innate moodiness and predisposition towards ‘darkness and dismay’. This can be seen as a reference to the diabolic origin of persistent despondency, contrasting it with congenital depression. The demonic

²³⁸ MacCarthy, *Byron*, p.316.

²³⁹ This is taken from Fr. Aucher’s unpublished journal, kindly unearthed and translated by Fr. Hamazasp of the San Lazzaro Monastery in Venice.

²⁴⁰ *CHP* IV.34.

LE GIAOUR.



*C'est en vain que le guerrier contemple
Son front et ses bras, comme que celui qui est vaincu
Les restes de son corps.*

Figure 36: Illustration for the Giaour after Gericault, 1823.²¹

²¹ From the British Museum.

urgings in conjunction with a natural tendency towards depression result in the conviction of 'predestin'd doom'. The eternal nature of this damnation is poignantly conveyed by the description of eternal hell-fire as 'not of the pangs which pass away'. The stilted phrasing of the line inspires pity, causing the narrator to appear naively defenceless. The sun is described in terms associated with death and torture which hint at the fears suffered by a victim of Religious Despair. Given the traditional association of the sun with God, it also indicates the perception of a vicious vengeful Deity. The concept of the earth as a tomb is akin to Cowper's 'fleshly tomb' and shows Despair as a living death. Actual death is true hell, infinitely worse than anything conceived by a mere mortal, as intimated by its non-description, obscured by 'a murkier gloom'. Finally, the increasing levels of agonised despair, culminating in the unspeakable horrors of a future hell are similar to Satan's description of his own mental agonies in *Paradise Lost*, where there is always another, 'lower deep' so the hell he currently suffers 'seems a heaven'.²⁴¹

The Giaour is a damned reprobate, likened to Cain with the mark of reprobation on his brow.²⁴² In the poem Byron describes the mind, 'that broods o'er guilty woes' as like 'the scorpion girt by fire'. This introspective intellect is inevitably self-destructive. As the fiery circle narrows, the scorpion endures agonising pain, until at last 'one sole sad relief' is left - the venomous sting, which 'Gives but one pang, and cures all pain'. The fire could represent hell's torment, as inescapable for the reprobate as the burning circle is for the scorpion. The blaze not only alludes to physical agonies in the infernal fires, but also to the mental torments of Despair. The scorpion's sting is suicide. The narrator concludes:

So do the dark in soul expire
Or like the scorpion, girt by fire;
So writhes the mind Remorse hath riven
Unfit for earth, undoom'd for heaven
Darkness above, despair beneath,
Around it flame, within it death!²⁴³

²⁴¹ *PL* IV.74-79.

²⁴² *Giaour* ll. 1057-1059.

²⁴³ *Giaour* ll.422-438.

The capitalisation of Remorse draws the eye and gives the reader a sense that guilt is an actual entity, actively destroying the mind it inhabits like a parasite. Again there is reference to the reasons behind the despondency: the darkness of the soul is indicative of sin - a sin which bars it from heaven and results in a wounded conscience which renders earthly existence a living hell of flame and death. There is an implication of predestined damnation in the phrase 'undoom'd for heaven' which would explain the Giaour's 'despair'. Byron also utilises this image of the 'bitterness' of the 'scorpion's sting' to describe Harold's suicidal anguish and Religious Despair in Canto IV.²⁴⁴

Manfred is one of the most complete expressions of Religious Despair in Byron's poetry. Manfred is wracked by the scorpion stings of a guilty conscience. He is his 'own soul's sepulchre', believing it his 'fatality to live' with his 'barrenness of spirit', intimating the preordained nature of his Religious Despair.²⁴⁵ Manfred later describes how his 'soul was scorch'd'; the image of the soul being burned evokes the psychological torment of the Despairing, who feel the tortures of hell-fire while still alive.²⁴⁶ Manfred's description of his mental anguish is akin to Religious Despair. He 'gnash'd' his teeth 'in darkness' and with the 'returning morn', he 'cursed' himself again 'till sunset'. He prayed 'For madness as a blessing' and, like Cowper, found that even death turned its back on him – the ultimate image of rejection.²⁴⁷

The most compelling description of this Despair can be found in Manfred's soliloquy in the mountains:

We are the fools of time and terror: Days
Steal on us and steal from us; yet we live,
Loathing our life and dreading still to die.
In all the days of this detested yoke -
This heaving burthen, this accursed breath -
This vital weight upon the struggling heart,
Which sinks with sorrow or beats quick with pain.²⁴⁸

²⁴⁴ CHP IV.23. This motif is not unique to Byron. Shelley also uses the image of a scorpion girt about by fire in his *Cenci*, and also in *Queen Mab* II, 85-87, VI.36-38, while Dante refers to the people-trees comprising his Wood of Suicides as having the 'souls of scorpions' in Canto XIII of *Inferno*.

²⁴⁵ *Manfred* I.ii.24-27.

²⁴⁶ *Manfred* II.i.73.

²⁴⁷ *Manfred* II.ii.130-139.

²⁴⁸ *Manfred* II.ii.164-170. The lines convey a similar message to that of *Giaour* II. 1195-1196.

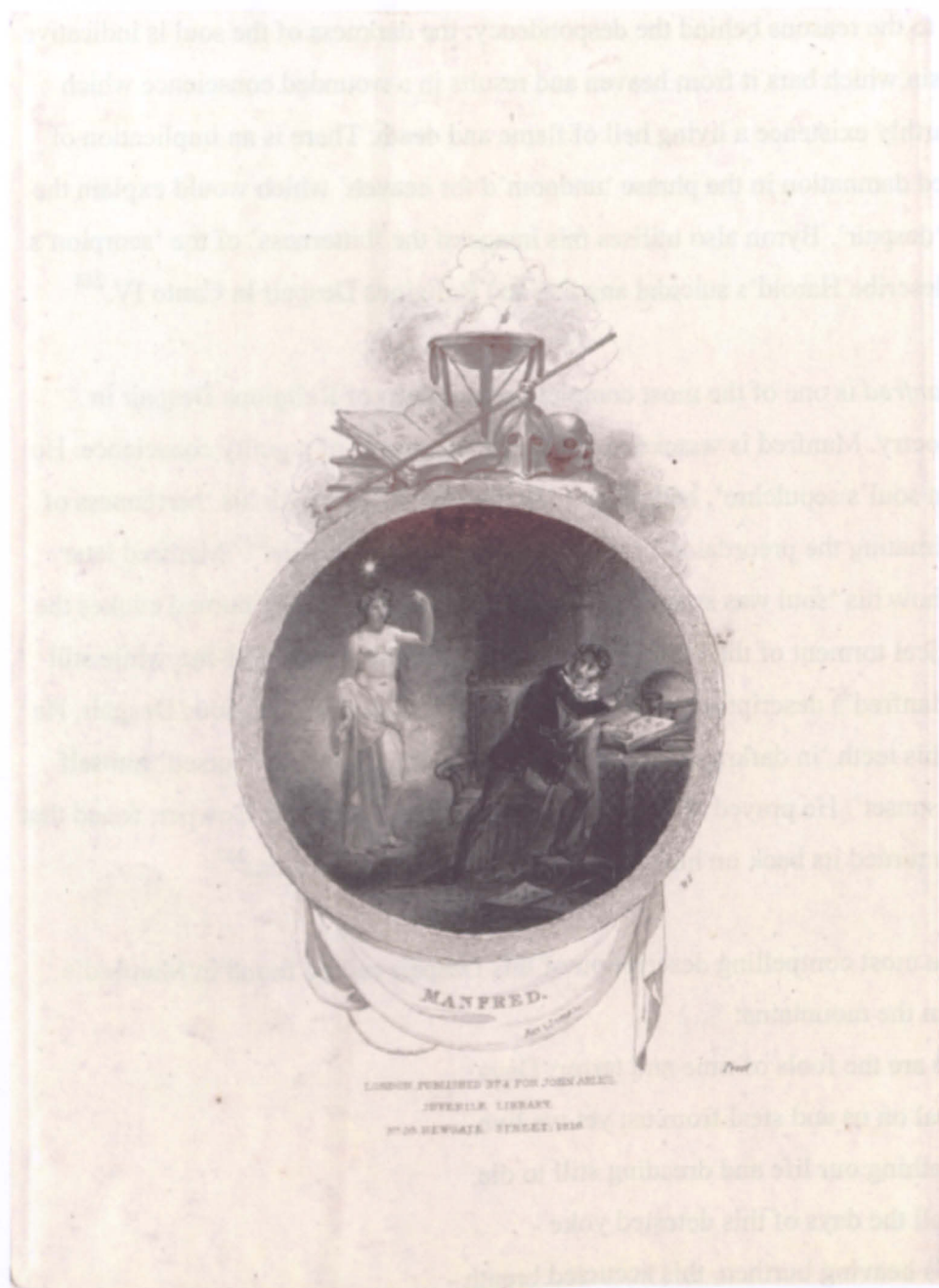


Figure 37: Frontispiece for *Manfred*, print made by William Sharpe, 1818.²²

²² From the British Museum.

Byron portrays the conflicting emotions and miserable state of the Despairing - hating life but scared of hell; again this is similar to passages written by Cowper and Bunyan. The description of life as a 'detested yoke' and 'burthen' creates an image of the soul as struggling through the mud-filled furrows of its existence, weighed down by the unwieldy mass of life. Calvin refers to 'the yoke of sin',²⁴⁹ and in *Manfred* we see the Calvinist association of life and sin as virtually synonymous with each other, chained together in misery. The image of life as a wooden yoke reinforces the perception of it as a chain, a burden to be endured rather than enjoyed. The only emotions in the 'struggling heart' are the agony of pain and the anguish of sorrow - both characteristic conditions for the Despairing. The psychological torment of the guilt-stricken reprobate is likened to the 'barren sands' of the windswept desert, perpetually strafed by the 'red-hot breath' of the fiery winds of hell. Again there are parallels with the fiery deserts of the Homosexual damned in *Inferno*.²⁵⁰

Byron's awareness of the mental anguish of the despairing can be seen in *Manfred*'s speech to the Abbot before his death. He tells the diabolic spirit sent to claim his soul that its hell is as nothing to that 'torture' which he 'bears within' him; he need not go into hell because, like Milton's Satan, he already has a hell in him:

The mind which is immortal makes itself
 Requit for its good or evil thoughts -
 Is its own origin of ill and end.²⁵¹

McCormick discusses the persistent and pervasive nature of the 'voice' of *Manfred*'s guilt, which results in his alienation from society and from himself. However, arguably it was not simple guilt he suffered, but its Calvinist contemporary, Religious Despair.²⁵² Byron describes *Manfred* to Murray as 'tormented by a species of remorse, the cause of which is left half unexplained'.²⁵³ The mental anguish of the Calvinist reprobate, the guilty conscience torturing him into insanity, and the eventual suicide (or some other form of destruction) are all identical to the late eighteenth-century Gothic villains. The similarity between *Manfred*'s guilt and that of Gothic

²⁴⁹ *Institutes* 1.2.2.

²⁵⁰ *Inferno* XV.

²⁵¹ III.i.120-140. Interestingly, Hazlitt comments on the marked similarity between these lines and Dante's *Inferno*, Hazlitt, 'Lectures on English Poets', *Spirit of the Age*, p.303.

²⁵² L. McCormick, 'Lord Byron's *Manfred*: a Study of Alienation from Within', *University of Toronto Quarterly*, 40, (1970), pp.15-26.

²⁵³ BLJ V. 169.

villains was examined in Evans' article,²⁵⁴ but the Calvinist overtones of such remorse were not. Such a marked similarity cannot be a coincidence, particularly given that the origins of the Gothic villain can be found in Protestant Elizabethan England, with its focus on a providential world of good and evil. Incidentally, Radcliffe argues that Gothic terror 'expands the soul' and opens the mind to God, a concept arguably extremely similar to the purpose behind the Slough of Despond.²⁵⁵ Evans concludes that Manfred's guilt can be interpreted as an 'expiation of the sins of his theatrical ancestors, the Gothic villains'. Yet it is not only as a gothic villain that Manfred suffers, but also as a Calvinist reprobate, damned for his sins and despairing.

Wrecked against the Rock of Predestination

Virtually the only allegory used by Calvin in his *Institutes* concerns predestination:

If we dread shipwreck, let us anxiously beware of this rock, on which none ever strike without being destroyed. But, though the discussion of predestination may be compared to a dangerous ocean, yet, in traversing over it, the navigation is safe and serene, and I will also add pleasant, unless anyone freely wishes to expose himself to danger.²⁵⁶

Calvin seems to be saying that as long as the soul is ignorant of the implications of Predestination, it will remain calm. If, however, someone considers its ramifications they will be overwhelmed by an awareness of reprobation which, as this Section has shown, can lead to a belief in God's direct, personal hatred, decreeing their sinfulness. This will cause them to succumb to Religious Despair. Therefore, consideration of the complexities of predestination should be avoided, like a 'dangerous ocean' which smashes the ship (symbolising hope of salvation) against the jagged rocks of awareness of damnation. Calvin's allegory was popular, as can be seen from Lady Byron's use of it to refer to Byron's own religious difficulties, when she states that she 'like all connected with him, was broken against the rock of Predestination'.²⁵⁷

Although various critics have briefly examined the role sea and shipwreck play in Byron's poetry, none of them have made the connection between Calvin's

²⁵⁴ For more on Gothic remorse see B. Evans, 'Manfred's Remorse and The Dramatic Tradition', *PMLA*, 62, (1947), p. 763.

²⁵⁵ *New Monthly Magazine*, 7, (1826), cited in R.D. Hume, 'Gothic Versus Romantic: a Revaluation of the Gothic Novel', *PMLA*, 84, (1969), p.282.

²⁵⁶ *Institutes* 3.24.4.

²⁵⁷ Cited in H. Beecher-Stowe, *Lady Byron Vindicated* (New York: Haskell House, 1870), p. 395.

allegory and Byron's conviction of reprobation. Howe argued that the sea was Byron's metaphor for his poetry and his perception of poetry.²⁵⁸ Boulger briefly alludes to Byron's utilisation of Calvin's allegory of the ocean as an image of 'vast uncertainty' in *Childe Harold* Canto III.²⁵⁹ Blackstone wrote an article on the topic of guilt in Byron's 'sea poems' which examines the shipwrecked scene in *Don Juan* as a depiction of 'retribution, of tormented souls adrift on a wide sea'.²⁶⁰ Interestingly, the article then claims that the shipwreck leads Juan to Eden rather than Hell, the island paradise with Haidee. However, it could be argued that the symbolic guilt and retribution of Calvin's shipwreck allegory renders the lovers' idyllic island romance a diabolic snare leading to further doubt and damnation. Certainly the language and imagery in these passages would support such a reading.²⁶¹

The frequency of maritime disasters meant that disaster-at-sea literature was virtually a genre in itself.²⁶² Shipwrecks provided a particularly accessible image in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In 1812, John Graham Dalyell published *Shipwrecks and Disasters at Sea* in which he calculated that at least 5000 people died at sea each year.²⁶³ The trope of the 'suffering mariner', whose voyage consists of 'horrible torments', was a familiar one in Romantic Literature.²⁶⁴ These works usually examine the physical sufferings of the shipwrecked, the adrenalin fuelled human violence, the panicking riots, the hunger, thirst and subsequent cannibalism. However, as will be shown, although the shipwreck in *Don Juan* exemplifies this strain of shipwreck literature, Byron's emphasis on the mental torments of damnation and Despair are more akin to Calvin's analogy of the dangers of an awareness of reprobation and sorrow-for-sin.

Despite the fact that in the majority of shipwreck literature the emphasis is on literal physical sufferings rather than allegorical mental anguish, notes of Calvinist awareness remain, seen in the fact that in many works there is a realisation of the

²⁵⁸ T. Howe, 'Byron and the Place of Poetry', 2008 Conference, Bristol.

²⁵⁹ Boulger, *Calvinist Temper*, p.449.

²⁶⁰ B. Blackstone, 'Guilt and Retribution in Byron's Sea Poems', in *Byron: Critical Essays*, pp.31-41.

²⁶¹ *DJ* II.192-193.

²⁶² C. Thompson, ed. *Romantic-era Shipwreck Narratives: an Anthology* (Nottingham: Trent editions, 2007); also Thompson, *The Suffering Traveller and Romantic Imagination* (Oxford: OUP, 2007).

²⁶³ For example J. Dalyell's *Shipwrecks and Disasters at Sea*, (1812) which Byron owned a copy of, BLJ VIII. 186.

²⁶⁴ Thompson, *Suffering Traveller*, p.61.



Figure 38: *The Rescue*, by James Francis Danby.

future narrative path, contributing to the fatalistic mental state of the victims.²⁶⁵

Moreover, Providence is usually invoked at some point in the text, usually with reference to miraculous deliverance or discussing the shipwreck as part of God's plan to purify the narrator's soul through strife.²⁶⁶ Paintings usually focus on the ecstatic moment of deliverance, exemplified by James Danby's aptly titled *Rescue*. Byron's depictions of shipwreck are again atypical in their representation of inescapable predestined damnation rather than deliverance. Thompson's extensive examination of the shipwreck motif neglects to address the links with Religious Despair and Calvin's allegory, not only in connection with Byron, but entirely.

There are various references to shipwrecks in Byron's poetry which seem to utilise Calvin's allegory, particularly in his later life when his understanding of Despair was more comprehensive.²⁶⁷ One example in particular shows his awareness of Calvin's allegory, justifying a more detailed examination of the rest of his shipwreck imagery. In 'The Prophecy of Dante' the narrator bemoans the fact that:

For I have been too long and deeply wrecked

On the lone rock of desolate Despair.

He subsequently describes 'that reef' as 'so horrible and bare'.²⁶⁸ These lines can be interpreted as a reflection of Byron's awareness of his own predestined damnation, which has driven him into Despair. Certainly there is an undeniable similarity between Calvin's warnings of the dangers of striking the rock of predestination, and Byron's image of being permanently wrecked, stranded in a state of mental destitution, conveyed by the barren reef and the mention of 'lone'. Moreover, the allusion to a lengthy time on this rock could intimate that Byron has been suffering Religious Despair for some time by 1819 when the 'Prophecy of Dante' was written.

In *Childe Harold* Canto III, Harold is subject to 'Despair', aware of his damnation and having 'nought of hope left'. He is a 'gloomy wanderer o'er the wave' whose internal torment is depicted as a 'plundered wreck' where the damned sailors

²⁶⁵ Thompson discusses examples of this 'panic stricken recognition', pp.69, 67-79.

²⁶⁶ For example *Mr James Janeway's Legacy to His Friends: Containing Twenty-Seven Instances of God's Providence, In and About Sea Dangers and Deliverances*, (1675); Thompson again includes a number of examples of this 'providential misadventure', *Suffering Traveller*, pp.70-79.

²⁶⁷ See also *Giaour* ll.960-970, *Manfred* I.ii.85-89, II.ii.140-148, III.i.103.

²⁶⁸ 'Prophecy of Dante', I.138-139, 141.

‘meet their doom’ on the ‘sinking deck’.²⁶⁹ The language here conjures up images of ravaged hulls rotting far below the surface, vividly evocative of the destructive nature of Despair. The reference to ‘doom’ again communicates a sense of predestined fate. The ‘Epistle to Augusta’ also links the shipwreck motif to depression and Despair. In it Byron describes his ‘inheritance of storms’ which has driven him onto the ‘rocks of perils overlooked’. The ensuing ‘worldly shocks’ were his own ‘fault’, and he concludes:

I have been cunning in mine overthrow

The careful pilot of my proper woe.²⁷⁰

The language imparts a sense of conscious action, again reminiscent of Calvin’s warnings of awareness of predestined sin and damnation. The reference to ‘inheritance of storms’ can be read as Byron’s congenital depression, or Original Sin. It could equally refer to the mental agonies his knowledge of his predestined reprobation causes. The mention of ‘proper woe’ shows that the narrator is convinced of his reprobation, perceiving his worldly suffering is a just punishment for his sins. Alternatively, the concept of deliberately ensuring ‘proper woe’ could refer to the guilty-struck mind of the reprobate as its own hell, so vividly depicted in *Manfred*. Finally, the image of the storms driving the narrator against the unseen rocks reminds the reader of Calvin’s allegory, though here the rocks are earthly suffering rather than theological abstracts.

In *Manfred* the aftermath of a shipwreck is also described, showing the emotional and spiritual desolation that comes after realising one’s reprobation, predetermined by God:

But actions are our epochs, mine

Have made my days and nights imperishable

Endless and all alike as sands on the shore

Innumerable atoms; and one desert

Barren and cold, on which the wild waves break

But nothing rests save carcasses and wrecks,

Rocks and the salt-surf weeds of bitterness.²⁷¹

²⁶⁹ *CHP* II.16, III.16.

²⁷⁰ ‘Epistle to Augusta’ St.3.



Figure 39: *Wreck of the Minotaur / Wreck of a Transport Ship*, by J.M.W. Turner, 1811-1812.

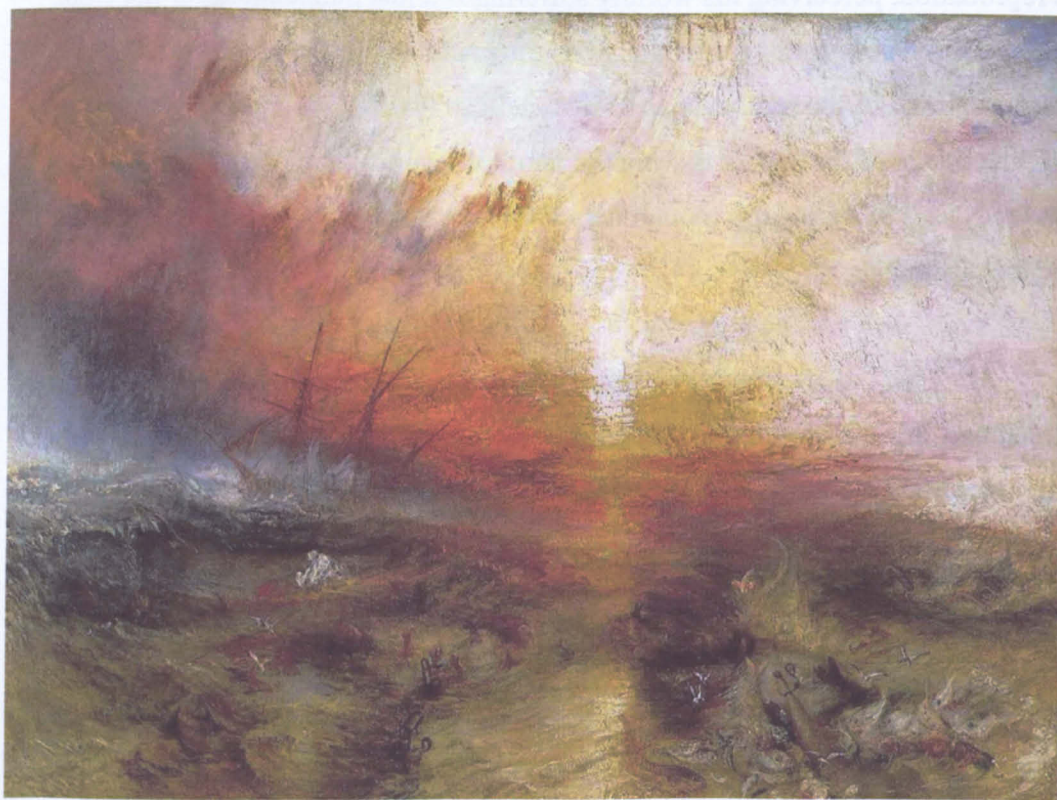


Figure 40: *Slavers Throwing Overboard the Dead and the Dying* by J.M.W. Turner, 1812.

Manfred's sense of guilt and sorrow-for-sin have plunged him into the Slough of Despond, vividly conveyed here through the use of a shipwreck motif. The endless stream of days and nights blends into one - each seeming 'imperishable' it takes so long to pass, as indistinguishable and numerous as the 'sands on the shore'. The description of the desert as 'barren and cold' is particularly striking, the bleak contrast with the traditional perception of deserts as hot and bright heightens the impression of a gray wasteland inhabited by nothing but death and bitterness. The description of 'carcasses and wrecks' emphasises the sense of 'bitterness' and damnation that results in Despair.

There are a few works that do seem to display a similar manifestation of Calvin's allegory. One such is Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, where the storms cause fears of death and damnation as Crusoe becomes aware of his sins, seeing the tempest as evidence of God's punitive wrath. Crusoe's existence on the island is a sort of enforced reprobation, 'void of all hope of recovery'. He could be perceived as literally stranded on Calvin's 'rock of Predestination'.²⁷² This reading is plausible given Defoe's Presbyterian leanings.²⁷³ One can hardly neglect mention of Coleridge's 'Rime of the Ancient Mariner'. Coleridge's work is one of the most emotive evocations of the anguish of reprobation, shown by the Mariner's isolation in the midst of the desolate vastness of a treacherous ocean, alienated from man and God. The anguished pathos of the work comes from the Mariner's awareness of his damnation and the poem traces the effects that this awareness has on his mental state. Byron knew Coleridge, encouraged him to publish his poems and it has been argued that he was influenced by the 'Rime of the Ancient Mariner'.²⁷⁴ Galt actually likened him to the Mariner,

²⁷¹ *Manfred* Act II Sc. I ll. 52-58. Interestingly there are alternate verses, discarded by Byron, which link Manfred's 'fixed foreboding' in the soul to a 'sullen sea' with 'danger in the waves', first M.S. Act III.

²⁷² *The Life and Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), pp.9,11,80-83.

²⁷³ T.C. Blackburn, 'Friday's Religion: Its Nature and Importance in Robinson Crusoe', *Eighteenth Century Studies*, 18, (1985), pp.360-361 deal with Defoe's religion, while pp.367-369 examine the concepts of Providence and Scourges in *Robinson Crusoe*; M.E. Novak, 'Robinson Crusoe's Original Sin', *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*, 1, (1961), pp.19-29.

²⁷⁴ Byron admired the poem, BLJ IV.284, he also praised it to Medwin, pp. 139-140, other mentions of Coleridge include BLJ II. 138, 140, 142, 147, 149; IV. 82, 284, 318, 321, 324; V 15-16, 27, 153, 170, 208; IX. 206; XI. 179; see also W. Stevenson, 'Byron and Coleridge: The Eagle and the Dove', *BJ*, 19, (1991), pp. 114-127; for more on Coleridge's Calvinism and its effect on his poetry, see Boulger, *Calvinist Temper*, pp.313-362.

isolated and despairing.²⁷⁵ The work is particularly interesting given Coleridge's Anglican-Protestant leanings, his conviction that 'he was indeed a fallen being' and the poor health that plagued him throughout his life and led to his opium addiction.²⁷⁶ Moreover, like Byron, Coleridge is thought to have suffered manic depression; certainly a number of his poems describe 'black soul-jaundiced fits' of melancholy,²⁷⁷ and the 'grief without pang, void, dark and drear'.²⁷⁸ Indeed it is possible that Coleridge's depression, sickness, Anglican upbringing and fear of damnation might have combined, as with Byron, into a form of Religious Despair. Certainly there are various works which would seem to express the inner anguish of the reprobate persecuted by God. For example, the 'Wanderings of Caine' contains an emotive description of the reprobate's inescapable torment – possibly influenced by Coleridge's own experiences:

The Mighty One who persecuteth me is on this side and that;
He persueth my soul like the wind, like the sandblast he passeth through
He is around me even as the air!²⁷⁹

Passages such as this lend weight to a reading of 'Rime of the Ancient Mariner' as an adaptation or reflection of Calvin's allegory concerning the mental destitution caused by an awareness of one's sinfulness and predestined reprobation.

Perhaps the most compelling poetical description of the anguish of Despair using the shipwreck motif is found at the end of Cowper's *The Castaway*, inspired by the 1783 wreck of the *Antelope*. Cowper uses the concept of a shipwrecked sailor, a 'destin'd wretch' who was swept overboard and is now 'of friends, of hope, of all bereft'. The reference to predestination immediately informs the reader that the sailor perceives himself as reprobate, while the sense of abandonment and destitution is typical of Religious. The final lines are amongst the most poignant descriptions of Despair in English poetry:

²⁷⁵ Galt is cited in Blackstone, *Byron a Survey* (London: 1975), p.81.

²⁷⁶ Coleridge studied at Calvinist Cambridge, and although a youthful Unitarian, returned to the Church of England in 1813. Coleridge's most significant writings on religion are *Lay Sermons*, *Aids to Reflection*, and *The Constitution of Church and State* (1830); Brice examines Coleridge as a Calvinist of sorts due to his panicked belief in his reprobation and damnation, *Coleridge and Scepticism* (Oxford: University Press, 2007), p.4; see also J. Barth, *Coleridge and Christian Doctrine* (Fordham: FUP, 1987); G. Neville, *Coleridge and Liberal Religious Thought* (London: IB Tauris, 2001); D. Pym, *The Religious Thought of Samuel Taylor Coleridge* (London: Colin Smythe, 1978).

²⁷⁷ 'Lines written at Sheraton Bars'.

²⁷⁸ 'Dejection an Ode', st.2.

²⁷⁹ *The Wanderings of Caine*, 1798.



Figure 41: *The Raft of the Medusa* by Gericault.

No voice divine the storm allay'd,
 No light propitious shone;
 When, snatched from all effectual aid,
 We perish'd, each alone:
 But I beneath a rougher sea
 And overwhelm'd in deeper gulphs than he.²⁸⁰

God has abandoned the drowning sinner to his fate, and it is the narrator's terrified realisation of this which Cowper depicts so strongly here. The reference to the possibility of Divine intervention reminds the reader that God is powerful enough to do so should He wish – the fact that He does not reinforces the sense of abandonment. The deliberate non-action is contrasted by the word 'snatched' which implies the active participation of something which seized the sailor and dashed him to the sea – possibly the predestination referred to in the earlier lines. The dying man is utterly alone – even though there may be others dying near him, his isolation is absolute. As with all victims of Despair, the poet-narrator is convinced that his suffering is the worst, believing God hates him the most, deliberately damning/drowning him.²⁸¹ The sea in which the sailor is drowning is a potent image of Despair. The waters of anguish flooding into the eyes and ears, nose and mouth, utterly overwhelming the sufferer until at last he gives up the struggle to survive, sinking beneath the waves. The fatal consequences of this Despair are illustrated by the sailor's death. Unlike the majority of shipwreck literature, Cowper's depiction focuses on the mental agonies of reprobation, convinced of God's hatred and fearing imminent death, rather than hoping for providential deliverance. It could be argued that, like Byron, this is due to his Calvinist Religious Despair.

The association of shipwreck with damnation is not limited to literary works.²⁸² Gericault's *Raft of the Medusa* was based on an actual wreck where hundreds died a slow death by starvation and exposure, even resorting to cannibalism as in the episode described by Byron in *Don Juan*, which was inspired by the same wreck. Like Byron, Gericault opts to ignore the issues of starvation and cannibalism,

²⁸⁰ 'The Castaway' St. 10, *Poetical Works of William Cowper*, (Edinburgh: James Nichol, 1854).

²⁸¹ This is similar to Luther's perception of *Anfechtung* (Religious Despair) when the sufferer is convinced that 'God is angry only with him, and irreconcilably angry against him: he alone is a sinner', Rupp, *Righteousness of God*, p.107.

²⁸² T.S.R. Boase, 'Shipwrecks in English Romantic Painting', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 22, (1959), pp. 332-346.



Figure 42: *Dante and Virgil Crossing the Styx*, by Eugene Delacroix, 1822.

and instead of focusing on the miraculous rescue, examines the 'subject of greater psychological tension' when the survivors suffer the false hope of sighting a ship and are then forced to watch it disappear.²⁸³ Although not itself an explicit representation of damnation, the image was widely viewed as signifying that 'all humanity is a raft of desperate men, surrounded by the dead and dying', a view influenced by Gericault's own depression.²⁸⁴ His portrayal of the torment of the abandoned dying, lost at sea was so striking that it inspired Delacroix's depictions of the Sullen in his painting *Dante and Virgil Crossing the Styx*, also known as *The Barque of Dante*. Delacroix vividly displays the anguished torment of the damned, permanently drowning in the muddy waters, grasping at the boat in despairing agony. Although not a direct link, it nonetheless indicates the presence of an association of death-by-drowning with infernal torment and damnation, particularly given that 'Styx' also means 'hateful' (OED), like Cowper's despairing reprobate Castaway, the Sullen are literally drowning in divinely decreed hatred.

J.M.W. Turner seems to have been especially gripped by the visual possibilities of shipwrecks, as can be seen by their frequent depictions throughout his lifetime.²⁸⁵ His numerous paintings of shipwrecks include *Shipwreck, Wreck of the Minotaur*, (subsequently renamed *Wreck of a Transport Ship*), *Storm at Sea with a Blazing Wreck*, *Storm at Sea*, *Fire at Sea*, *Shipwreck off Hastings* and *Dutch Boats in a Gale*. Turner was a Romantic painter, if such a category exists. Almost an exact contemporary of Byron, whom he was massively influenced by, Turner's interest in shipwrecks provides an ideal context for Byron's own attraction. Venning's article explicitly links the two creative artists in their fascination with the destructive imagery of shipwrecks.²⁸⁶ One of Turner's closest acquaintances and admirers, John Ruskin, described him as a man 'without hope' - the dictionary definition of despair.²⁸⁷ Ruskin wrote that 'in his extreme sadness and the morbid tones of mind out of which it arose, [Turner] is one with Byron and Goethe'.²⁸⁸ Passages from his

²⁸³ H. Honour, *Romanticism* (London: Penguin Books: 1991), p.41.

²⁸⁴ K. Clark, *The Romantic Rebellion – Romantic Versus Classic Art* (London: John Murray, 1973), pp. 177-197.

²⁸⁵ For more on Turner see Clark, pp.223-260; T. Boase, *Oxford History of English Art* (Oxford: Clarendon press, 1959), entry on 'Turner'.

²⁸⁶ 'A Macabre Connoissership: Turner, Byron and the Apprehension of Shipwreck Subjects in Early Nineteenth-Century England', *Art History*, 8, (1985), pp. 303-319.

²⁸⁷ Cited in Clark, p.190.

²⁸⁸ J.A.N. Hefferman, 'Self Representation in Byron and Turner', *Poetics Today*, 10, (1989), p. 208.



Figure 43: *Shipwreck*, by J.M.W. Turner.

despairing poem 'The Fallacies of Hope' appear under a number of paintings, further attesting to his despondency. Turner's most famous work on this topic is *Shipwreck*, described as 'the expression of [his] deep pessimism, for he thought of humanity as doomed'.²⁸⁹ Given the widespread association of natural disasters, Bisset's 'temporal calamities', with Divine judgement, any depiction of Nature's violence would inevitably have retributive connotations for contemporary viewers. Works such as Danby's *The delivery of Israel, Pharaoh and his hosts overwhelmed in the Red Sea*, 1825, vividly portrays Nature as a tool of Divine retribution.²⁹⁰ The perception of the Lisbon Earthquake of 1755 as a punishment from God for 'transgression of his laws' also testifies to this Calvinist assumption that all 'temporal calamities' are acts of punitive retribution directed at the reprobate.²⁹¹ This implicit perception of Nature as God's Scourge inevitably casts the drowning sailors as reprobates receiving God's penalties for their sins. Turner's work is of particular interest given his depictions of a cruel and vengeful God, examined later.²⁹² Although not explicitly depicting Religious Despair, Turner's paintings still utilise the shipwreck motif to convey an almost providential destruction and the anguished despair of drowning, providing an interesting contrast to Byron's own use of Calvin's shipwreck allegory.

Conclusion: 'I am no *Atheist*'²⁹³

This Section has examined Byron's mental state and the impact which his Calvinist upbringing, with its indoctrination into the tenets of reprobation and predestination, had on his psychological state of mind. Byron seems to have been a victim of Religious Despair for much of his life. If one takes his poetry, letters, journals and comments at face-value, it would seem as if this sense of reprobation, alienated and rejected by God, actually increased, particularly after his voluntary exile to the Continent in 1816. Certainly his letters and poems seem to reflect an increasing obsession with his mental state, his own sins and those of his characters. This can be seen in the gradual change from fleeting mentions of his 'load of grief' in very early

²⁸⁹ Clark, *Romantic Rebellion*, p.236.

²⁹⁰ Clark discusses how Turner became 'increasingly interested' with the sea 'as one of the most powerful embodiments of the forces of nature', p.136.

²⁹¹ Bisset, *Isaiah 6.9*, p.6; T. Gisbourne, *Testimony of Natural Theology to Christianity* (1818) cited in Hilton, *Age of Atonement*, p.22. For more on the Lisbon earthquake as the penal consequence of disobeying God, see Voltaire's 'Lisbon Earthquake, and BLJ IX. 30.

²⁹² Clark, *Romantic Rebellion*, p.236.

²⁹³ BLJ IV.81.

poems,²⁹⁴ to *Childe Harold* Canto I, with its depictions of sin-consciousness and the ensuing mental anguish over the next three cantos, from 1811 to 1818. *The Giaour*, 1813, and *Manfred*, 1816-1817, falling between the various Cantos of *Childe Harold*, reveal the increasingly introspective torment of the despairing reprobate, convinced of predestined damnation decreed by an uncaring God. The former work deals with the mental agonies themselves, while the latter poem, written a few years later, reflects Byron's greater understanding and focuses on the remorseful guilt and conviction of damnation which causes those mental torments, engendering a sense of isolation and alienation. In *Manfred*, Byron presents a detailed depiction of the 'innate tortures of that deep Despair' which 'Would make a hell of Heaven', showing his increasing knowledge of various aspects of Religious Despair.²⁹⁵ *Cain*, written in 1821, again reflects Byron's greater understanding of the complexities of Religious Despair, owing to his re-reading of Burton amongst other works. This is seen in the presentation of Cain's despondency as caused by an invisible and uncaring God which leads him to listen to Lucifer's demonic blandishments and succumb to Despair, characterised by doubt and hatred of God. Byron's preoccupation with the depression and suicide of his maternal relatives at this time could potentially be seen in a similar light.

William Hazlitt noted that 'Lord Byron shuts himself up too much in the impenetrable gloom of his thoughts' as can be seen from his obsession with depicting the agonies of 'a mind preying on itself' in his poetry. Hazlitt argued that therefore 'The Giaour, the Corsair, Childe Harold, are all the same person, and they are apparently all himself'.²⁹⁶ Using Byron's poetry as a source of evidence on his mental state is validated by the pronounced parallels between his letters and conversations on the topic and his poetical expressions. Moreover, the numerous examples of friends, critics and acquaintances who did just this provides a further pretext supporting the arguments of this Section.

²⁹⁴ 'Farewell to a Lady', one of the Nottinghamshire poems.

²⁹⁵ III.i.70, 73.

²⁹⁶ Hazlitt, 'Lectures on English Poets', in *Spirit of the Age*, pp.302-303.



Figure 44: 'The delivery of Israel, pharaoh and his hosts overwhelmed in the Red Sea', by Francis Danby, 1825.

CHAPTER TWO: BYRON'S DUALISM

*The God of this Aeon
Has shut the heart of the unbelieving
And has sunk them in his Error
And the deceit of drunkenness.
He has made them blaspheme against the God of Truth,
His Power and His Wisdom.*

Manichean Psalm.¹

Byron was troubled by 'the existence of so much pure and unmixed evil in the world' which he found impossible to reconcile with 'the idea of a benevolent creator'.² That he was less than satisfied with Calvinist explanations can be seen from his attacks on their cruel God, discussed in the preceding Chapter. However, Byron did not believe that the infernal god of Calvinism was the true God, at least he seems to have hoped that there was another, truly benign Being whose message had been distorted.³ Like others before him, Byron is therefore faced with the need to acquire an explanation for the existence of evil.

One of the earliest explanations of this was the Inconsistent Triad, proposed by Epicurus (341-270BC) and expanded by Lucretius (240-320AD) in his infamous work *De Rerum Natura*, known to Byron.⁴ This theory explains that there are three absolutes, yet only any two of them can be compatible. These absolutes are that God

¹ Paraphrasing 2 Corinthians 4.4, this psalm can be found in *Manichean Psalm Book, Part II*, ed. and trans. C.R.C. Allberry (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1938), pp.56-57.

² Kennedy, p.55.

³ BLJ I.114. See also BLJ II.89, 97-98; III. 119; IX.45-46.

⁴ Byron owned a copy of *De Rerum Natura*, Appendix 3, number 182. There are various references to Lucretius in Byron's letters, BLJ III.7, 73, 210; IV. 81; VII. 192, 200. In BLJ IX. 126, Byron acknowledges the similarity between his own heretical leanings and the heretical nature of Lucretius' message of '*Tantum Religio potuit suadere Malorum*' ('so potent was religion in persuading to evil deeds') taken from *De Rerum Natura*, I, p.101. Byron then questions why his poetry is attacked yet the new translation and translator of Lucretius' works are not. There is also a further allusion to Lucretius' 'irreligion' in DJI.43. Bayle's *GHCD* also contains a large entry 'Epicurus', note L and also in 'Paulicians', Note E. Dante's *Inferno* condemns the Epicurean denigration of the world's corruption, X.14-16, and Burton's *Anatomy* discusses Lucretius, p.444; furthermore, the work *Anti-Byron*, published by Murray, accuses Byron of being 'the systematic reviewer of the dogmata of epicurus' in his 'rhymes', BLJ IV.82. Finally, owing to its rediscovery and republication in 1417, which resulted in widespread popularity for centuries, Byron would also have known of Lucretius' theories from Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* where its inclusion as an unexplained 'in' joke highlights its mainstream popularity and presence in the public consciousness, as well as in works by Spenser, Donne, Bacon, Montaigne and Moliere, for more on this see S. Greenblatt, *The Swerve: How the Renaissance Began* (London: Bodley Head, 2011).

is omnipotent, that God is omnibenevolent and that there is evil in the world. The existence of evil cannot be denied given the misery and suffering all around us. A good God would not wish us to suffer and a powerful God would be able to banish all misery. Yet evil still exists so either God is cruel or He is powerless. Christians find the Inconsistent Triad particularly difficult as they insist on omnipotence yet refuse to forgo omnibenevolence. Pierre Bayle frequently alludes to the concept in his *General Historical and Critical Dictionary*, a favourite of Byron's, where he describes how:

It is not only unaccountable but even inconceivable, how evil could creep into the world, under the government of a sovereign Being, infinitely good, infinitely holy and infinitely powerful.⁵

Christians have striven to formulate answers to this paradox since the earliest days of their faith, justifying the existence and purpose of evil as part of God's plan.

Tertullian, Irenaeus, Augustine and Calvin have all grappled with this issue. Shelley's posthumously published work *On the Devil and Devils* mocks the 'panic stricken' Christians who are desperate to 'devise a flattering sophism' by which they might appease the 'jealous and suspicious despot' who is the 'Author of an Universe where good and evil are inextricably entangled'.⁶

The early nineteenth century was an interesting time for Byron to start seeking answers. The eighteenth-century Enlightenment with its scientific and philosophical advances resulted in a rising secularisation and the decline of Church Authority. The clergy no longer had a comprehensive grip on the minds and actions of the general populace. Blasphemers could not be burnt. The inquisitive could not be punished for seeking out new faiths, nor for exhuming and revitalising old ones. One only has to look at the extensive collection of articles from the *Daily Telegraph* on the numerous religious groups in nineteenth-century London to see evidence of this.⁷ Moreover, a previously unknown ease of travel allowed the intrepid to venture far beyond Europe, collecting information concerning the history and traditions of distant cultures. By the start of the nineteenth century there was a rapidly expanding wealth of knowledge concerning earlier faiths and civilisations.

⁵ *GHCD*, VIII, 'Paulicians', Note E.

⁶ P.B. Shelley, *Shelley's Devil Notebook*, eds. P.M.S. Dawson and T. Webb (New York: Garland Publishing, 1993), pp.41-42.

⁷ C.M. Davies, *Unorthodox London, or Phases of Religious Life in the Metropolis*, 2 vols (London: Tinsley brothers 1873).



Figure 45: Palazzo Mocenigo on the Great Canal in Venice which Byron rented for three years.²³

²³ Taken on my trip to Venice.

This knowledge filtered into public consciousness through the medium of literature. The East exerted a particular fascination, shown by the numerous travelogues detailing experiences in Persia, Egypt and further East, as well as the undeniable appetite of the reading public for tales of Turkish, Persian and Arabic characters.⁸ Even the briefest glance at the sale records for John Murray's publishing house during Byron's lifetime testifies to this prevailing interest. These records show not only the popularity of *Childe Harold*, the Turkish Tales and *Sardanapalus*, but works such as *Lalla Rookh* and *Loves of Angels* by Thomas Moore, as well as the various journey-diaries and travel books.⁹ Byron's advice to Moore to 'stick to the East' as the 'only poetical policy' reflects the prevailing public interest in that region.¹⁰

With this in mind it is not unusual that Byron should pay particular attention to religions from these regions when he sought for a more palatable explanation for the existence of evil than that provided by Scottish Calvinism.

One of the most persistent rationalisations for evil, that we will find Byron engaged with, comes under the heading of Dualism. The term itself was coined by the English Orientalist, Thomas Hyde, in 1700 in his *Historia Religionis Veterum Persarum*. He used 'Dualism' to refer to beliefs that look outside God for the source of moral ambivalence in the world.¹¹ Dualists argue that 'since God is of the highest good, evils are not from him'. As evil undeniably exists it comes 'from something other than God'. Therefore, 'since God is the principle of good, there is another, the principle of evil'.¹² There are two forms of Dualism, radical and mitigated. Mitigated or monarchian Dualism is a soft option, with an inferior Evil Principle whose finite control over the world allows him to corrupt it temporarily before finally ceding

⁸See J. Bullen, *The Sun is God: Painting, Literature and Mythology in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), p.15; N. Leask, *British Romantic Writers and the East* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); A.J. Weitzman, 'The Oriental Tale in the Eighteenth Century: a Reconsideration', *SVEC*, 58, (1967), pp. 1839-1855; A.R. Kidwai, *Orientalism in Lord Byron's Turkish Tales* (Lewiston: Mellen UP, 1995); W. Cable Brown, 'Robert Southey and the English Interest in the Near East', *ELH*, 5, (1938), pp.218-224.

⁹ JMA MS. 42809, 42725, 42726, 42811.

¹⁰ BLJ III.101.

¹¹ *GHCD*, X, 'Zoroastrianism', Note F.

¹² Alan of Lille, 'A Scholar's Attack on Heretics', *Heresies of the High Middle Ages*, eds. W. Wakefield and A. Evans (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), p.215.

rulership to the Good Principle. Radical Dualism on the other hand has two coequal, infinite Principles battling for supremacy for eternity. Stoyanov's comprehensive work on Dualism in all its varied forms adds two further differentiations. He distinguishes between dialectic Dualism where the Principles practice a sort of cyclical dominion, each conquering then being conquered, and eschatological Dualism where the finite evil is defeated permanently. Stoyanov also differentiates between cosmic Dualism, where matter is formed by the Good Principle, and anti-cosmic Dualism which teaches that matter was formed by the Evil Principle and is thus polluted by the evil of its Creator.¹³

There are a wide variety of Dualist faiths ranging from the Zoroastrianism of the Persian Empire (a formative influence on Judaism) and the Gnosticism that arose contemporaneous with nascent Christianity, to the infamous Manichean heresy that threatened the Orthodox faiths of two Empires and its distant grandchild Catharism.

The importance of these Dualist sects in Byron's poetry will be addressed more fully in Chapter Three. Suffice to say that it is significantly more than the 'red herring' dismissed by Thorslev,¹⁴ or a desire to increase the 'theatricality' of his dramas by setting 'major literary traditions' against one another, as Beatty claims.¹⁵ The numerous attacks vilifying Byron as an arch-heretic demonstrate that Dualism was a strong presence in much of his poetry.¹⁶ Not only is there the famous inflammatory pamphlet by Oxoniensis, censuring Byron as the author of 'fiendish attempts [...] to persuade the multitude there is no God – to deprive them of hope here and bliss hereafter'.¹⁷ There was the equally notable diatribe by that 'damned scoundrel' Robert Southey, condemning Byron's degeneracy and heresy.¹⁸ Southey's rant castigates Byron and those of his contemporaries who also use Dualist heresies as 'men of diseased hearts and depraved imaginations' who have formed 'a system of

¹³ Y. Stoyanov, *The Other God* (London: Yale University Press, 2000), p.4.

¹⁴ P. Thorslev, 'Byron and Bayle: Biblical Scepticism and Romantic Irony', in Hirst, *Byron and Religion*, p.61.

¹⁵ B. Beatty, 'Cain's Legacy and Cain's Tradition', *Wordsworth Circle*, 27, (1996), pp.5-6.

¹⁶ The Methodist preacher John Styles attacked Byron as 'the most dangerous abettor of the infidel cause it has ever had to boast' in *Lord Byron's Works viewed in Connexion with Christianity: a Sermon* (1824), p.6; BLJ. IV.95, IX. 100, 110, 111, 123. Other attacks are mentioned in BLJ I.146; II. 91; IV.49, 50, 51, 82; VI.140; VII.49, 69, 135.

¹⁷ Oxonian to John Bull, 1822 pamphlet, cited in Ryan, *Romantic Reformation*, p.6; BLJ IX. 142-145.

¹⁸ BLJ VII. 102.



Figure 46: A copy of a 1635 Map of Venice from the San Lazzaro Monastery Library.

opinions', a 'moral virus that eats into the soul' and challenges 'the holiest ordinances of human society' and 'revealed religion'.¹⁹ Ironically, Southey's own fascination with the East led him to also write of Dualist heresies in his poetry, though unlike Byron and Moore, Southey 'was not sympathetic with his Near eastern materials'.²⁰ *Thalaba* describes the existence of 'two hostile Gods' who are 'Equal in power', as proved by the presence of both 'fruit and poison' in the world.²¹

Due to his 'tolerably extensive' reading habits, Byron's utilisation of Dualist doctrines in his poetry can be attributed to a huge variety of influences.²² These include anti-somatic and ascetic references in the NT and detailed descriptions in historical works such as Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, d'Herbelot's *Bibliothèque Orientale* and Bayle's *Dictionary*, all based on extant texts by writers such as Herodotus, Plutarch and Iamblichus. The most detailed sources on Dualism in Byron's time were the anti-Dualist polemics of the Early Church Fathers, particularly the Saints Irenaeus and Augustine.

However, as Obolensky points out, 'the term "dualism" is frequently used in far too loose a sense', particularly by critics who have no understanding of the intricacies and doctrines of the faiths to which they refer.²³ This is one of the most important focuses of this Chapter because it is not enough to prove that Byron turned to Dualist beliefs in his search for an explanation for the existence of evil, nor to trace its presence in his poetry, though both of these are also accomplished here. The various errors and oversights by critics examining Byron's works justify a more informed approach to the presence of religion in his writings. Cantor is wrong in his assertion that 'from the point of view of literary criticism, it is unnecessary to document a direct line of influence' from early Dualists 'down to Romantic mythmakers'. There are so many variants used to different effect by Byron to achieve different purposes it is vital to know how, why and where his information comes from, in order to ascertain the purposes to which it is put. This is equally true of

¹⁹ Southey, in Rutherford, *Heritage*, pp.179-181.

²⁰ Cable Brown, *Southey*, p.223.

²¹ *Thalaba*, ll.146-172.

²² BLJ I.148.

²³ D. Obolensky, *The Bogomils* (Cambridge: University Press, 1948), p.69.

Dualistically influenced Romantics such as Blake, Peacock and Shelley, though sadly there is little space to examine their interaction with and expressions of Dualism here.

If critics traced the lines of influence they would gain a better understanding of the faiths which they attempt to discuss, resulting in new readings of Byron's work. They would not make mistakes such as that of Butler in her essay on 'Romantic Manichaeism' which confuses Manichaeism with Gnosticism, assigning the former a starting date nearly three centuries too early.²⁴ Others, such as Pfau, erroneously argue that Gnosticism and its successors employ 'the neoplatonist position',²⁵ despite the fact that there are actually few parallels between the two faiths, as shown in Chapter Three.

This work aims to examine the impact of all the Dualisms that Byron came into contact with. It is one of the greatest oversights by those critics who have briefly addressed his fascination with the *haeresis perennis* that they tend to focus on one variant to the exclusion of the others. Thus Butler only examines Zoroastrianism, dismissing Manichaeism as an irrelevant 'irritant' and wrongly assuming it is 'a derogatory word for Zoroastrianism'.²⁶ The inaccuracy of this view will be proven later. Payne's single mention of the impact of religion on Byron's conceptualisation of darkness refers to Zoroastrianism, yet ignores all other possibilities.²⁷ Similarly, Cantor concentrates on Gnosticism and neglects the other Dualist sects that Byron came into contact with.²⁸ Bloom's various works offer an equally blinkered representation of the assorted Dualisms which influenced the Romantics.²⁹ Such uninformed positions result in a narrow analysis of Byron's work and inevitably overlook key themes.

²⁴ M. Butler, 'Romantic Manichaeism: Shelley's "On the Devil, and Devils" and Byron's Mythological Dramas' in Bullen, *The Sun is God*, p.23.

²⁵ T. Pfau, 'The Philosophy of Shipwreck: Gnosticism, Skepticism and Coleridge's Catastrophic Modernity', *MLN*, 122, (2007), pp.949-1004.

²⁶ M. Butler, 'Romantic Manichaeism', p.23.

²⁷ G. Payne, *Dark Imaginings: Ideology and Darkness in the Poetry of Lord Byron* (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2008), p.22.

²⁸ P. Cantor, 'Byron's *Cain*: a Romantic Version of the Fall', *Kenyan Review*, 2, (1980), pp. 50-54.

²⁹ For example both *The Visionary Company: A Reading of English Romantic Poetry* (London: Faber & Faber, 1962) and *Poetry and Repression: Revisionism from Blake to Stevens* (London: Yale University Press, 1976) focus almost exclusively on Gnosticism.



Figure 47: The Bakery above which Byron lived on first coming to Venice, where he met his first mistress.

Finally, although obviously there are a number of works, such as Stoyanov's *Other God*, which provide extremely detailed up-to-date knowledge and examples of the evolution and transmission of the Dualist faiths, a great deal of this is sadly irrelevant in the context of Byron's own knowledge of Dualism. This means that the focus of this Chapter will be on information available to Byron and the prevailing conceptions of his time, rather than on the most accurate and advanced theories and sources.

SECTION ONE: 'Well read in the worst parts of ecclesiastical history'³⁰

*She to two gods, sole agents of her will,
By turns has given her delegated sway:
Her sovereign laws obedient they fulfil:
Inferior powers their high behests obey.
First Oromazes – lord of peace and day –
Dominion held o'er nature and mankind.
Now Ahrimanes rules, and holds his way
In storms.*

Peacock, 'Ahrimanes'.³¹

'Of the Immortality of the Soul I have little doubt': Gnosticism and the Armenian Epistles³²

La Cava's article on Byron's use of the pseudepigrapha (non-canonical biblical texts usually written under assumed names within two-hundred years of the birth of Christ) notes that:

There is a special poetic tradition which utilises apocryphal material in treating religious subjects and that a work of poetry when operating within this tradition is generally thought to be absolved from charges of heresy.³³

Byron seems to have thought he 'had the right and liberty' to avail himself of this carte blanche in his poetical works which used heretical concepts.³⁴ Yet judging by the numerous attacks he was subjected to, it seems he was not granted such absolution. There were a number of non-canonical religious texts available to eager students of religious history such as Byron, whose 'grand passion' for historical works ranged from 'Herodotus down to Gibbon'.³⁵ Byron's earliest writings from Harrow intimate his fascination with historical topics, particularly those dealing with the ancient and classical periods in the Near East. His reading on 'religious matters' was equally wide ranging, as noted by his mistress Teresa Guiccioli and Dr Kennedy.³⁶ Even the most cursory glance at the sale catalogues of Byron's libraries in 1813, 1816 and 1827 testify to these twin interests.³⁷

³⁰ Review of *Cain* in the *Evangelical Magazine*, 30, (1822), in *Romantics Reviewed*, II, pp.192-3.

³¹ 'Ahrimanes' St. 16, reproduced in full in A. Young, "'Ahrimanes" by Thomas Love Peacock', *MLR*, 4, (1909), pp.217-230.

³² BLJ IX.45.

³³ P. la'Cava, 'Byron and the Pseudepigrapha: a Re-examination of the Mystery Plays', *BJ*, 14, (1986), p.45.

³⁴ Kennedy, p.118. 'I was obliged to make Cain and Lucifer talk consistently – and surely this has always been permitted to poesy', BLJ IX. 53.

³⁵ BLJ VIII.108; I.148; see also Appendix 1.

³⁶ Guiccioli, I, pp.135-136; Kennedy, pp. 56, 101.

³⁷ See Appendices 1-4.



Figure 48: A copy of an eighteenth-century drawing of the San Lazzaro Monastery, found in the Monastery Library.

La Cava's article examines Byron's use of apocryphal scripture. Yet the article ignores what is arguably Byron's most interesting interaction with apocryphal material, his translations from the Armenian of 3 Corinthians and its accompanying 'Epistle to Paul from the Corinthians'. La Cava is not alone in this omission. Bassnett exhibits a similar oversight in an article concerning Byron's translations.³⁸ In fact every Byronist has ignored the origins and history of Byron's Armenian Epistles, assuming they are canonical and therefore not realising the unique source of information they represent for Byron, unobtainable elsewhere.³⁹ This underlines the significance of detailed religious knowledge when dealing with Byron. If these critics possessed a more comprehensive understanding of Scripture, they would have recognized the apocryphal nature of the Armenian Epistle and perhaps paid more attention to its content. These translations are Byron's main interaction with non-canonical Scripture and provide the most detailed source for his knowledge of Dualism, yet have never been examined as such. In fact they have almost never been considered at all.

But where did Byron come across Armenian Epistles? When he arrived in Venice in 1816, he was drawn to the Mekharist Armenian monastery on the island of San Lazaro, one of Venice's 'hundred isles'.⁴⁰ Byron desired 'something craggy to break upon' and learning Armenian was, 'the most difficult thing [he] could discover'.⁴¹ He went across most days and studied under Fr. Paschal Aucher (Yarut'iwn Awgerian) or 'padre Pasquali' as Byron named him.⁴² 'I am begun, and proceeding in, a study of the Armenian language which I acquire as well as I can' Byron noted in December 1816, continuing that although he finds the language 'difficult' it is not 'invincible'.⁴³ Aucher's diary describes how he 'translated several poems from classical and modern Armenian literature' for Byron, to help him learn Armenian, once he grasped the rules of Grammar.⁴⁴

³⁸ S. Bassnett, 'Byron and Translation', *BJ*, 14, (1986), pp.22-32.

³⁹ A. Nicholson, *Lord Byron: The Complete Miscellaneous Prose* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991) pp. 70-76. Another example is W. Calvert, *Byron: a Romantic Paradox* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1962), p.17.

⁴⁰ *CHP* III.9.9

⁴¹ *BLJ* V.129-131; *BLJ* V.137, 142.

⁴² *BLJ* IX.31.

⁴³ *BLJ* V.938. Byron also had a copy of the Armenian Bible, Appendix 4, number 198.

⁴⁴ Father Paschal Aucher, *Diary*, (unpublished, San Lorenzo Monastery), trans. Fr. Hamazasp.

Byron offered to help Fr. Aucher with the publication of both an Armenian to English Grammar and an English to Armenian Grammar.⁴⁵ It is the former which is of particular interest as in it there are a number of translation exercises, drawn from ancient Armenian texts in the monastery's extensive library of rare and often unknown manuscripts and books.⁴⁶ The first few of these are accompanied by English translations, at least two of which were by Byron. These were 3 Corinthians and the 'Epistle from the Corinthians to St Paul' (See Appendices 5 and 6). Aucher recalls how 'Byron translated from Latin the third epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians' and various other texts 'from Armenian authors, with the aid of his teacher' which he 'wanted to add to the grammar'.⁴⁷ Byron describes how he has 'translated two Epistles' which contain 'a correspondence between St. Paul and the Corinthians, not to be found in our version, but the Armenian' which seemed to him to be 'very orthodox'.⁴⁸ From the evidence, the Epistles seem to contain a detailed summary of and attack on the beliefs and practises of a heretical sect of Dualists. Such a condemnation of Dualism was indeed extremely Orthodox, as Byron was to find out in the following years, particularly after the publication of *Cain*. There have been two brief examinations of Byron's translations, though neither has considered the content of these works.⁴⁹ Gregor's work proves that Byron definitely made the translation of the two Epistles, if not the other English translations, based on the poor grammar and various errors which are to be expected in one who has only just started learning the language.⁵⁰ However, it seems unlikely that Gregor was able to gain access to Aucher's diary as, if this had been the case, he would not make the assumption that Byron translated 3 Corinthians from Armenian. The fact that Byron appears to have made the translation from a Latin copy makes it even more likely that he was fully

⁴⁵ BLJ V.146, 152, 156. In his diary Aucher (writing in the third person) records that Byron 'told his teacher [...] that he would publish his grammar English-Armenian [...] and he would correct with him the whole publication'. This is an unpublished work, translated on request by Fr. Hamazasp, a monk of the San Lazzaro Monastery.

⁴⁶ 'There are some very curious Mss. in the monastery, as well as books; translations also from greek originals, now lost, and from Persian and Syriac etc. besides works of their own people'; BLJ V. 138, 156.

⁴⁷ Paschal Aucher, *Diary*, trans. Fr. Hamazasp.

⁴⁸ BLJ V.201; BLJ XI.164.

⁴⁹ C. Dowsett, 'The Madman has Come back Again', *Journal for the Society of Armenian Studies*, 4, (1988-89), pp.7-52; D. Gregor, 'Byron's Knowledge of Armenian', *Notes and Queries* (1951), pp.316-320; see also A. Bekaryan, 'Byron and Armenia: A Case of Mirrored Affinities', *The Reception of Byron in Europe*, ed. R.A. Cardwell, 3 vols (London: Thoemmes Continuum, 2004), II, pp. 386-405.

⁵⁰ Gregor, 'Byron's Knowledge of Armenian', pp.317-318.

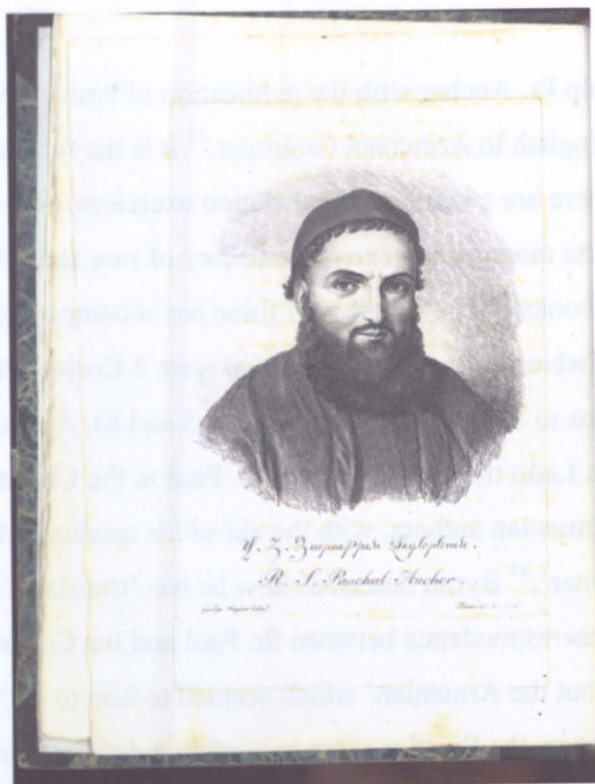


Figure 49: Illustration of Father Paschal Aucher from the front of his diary.

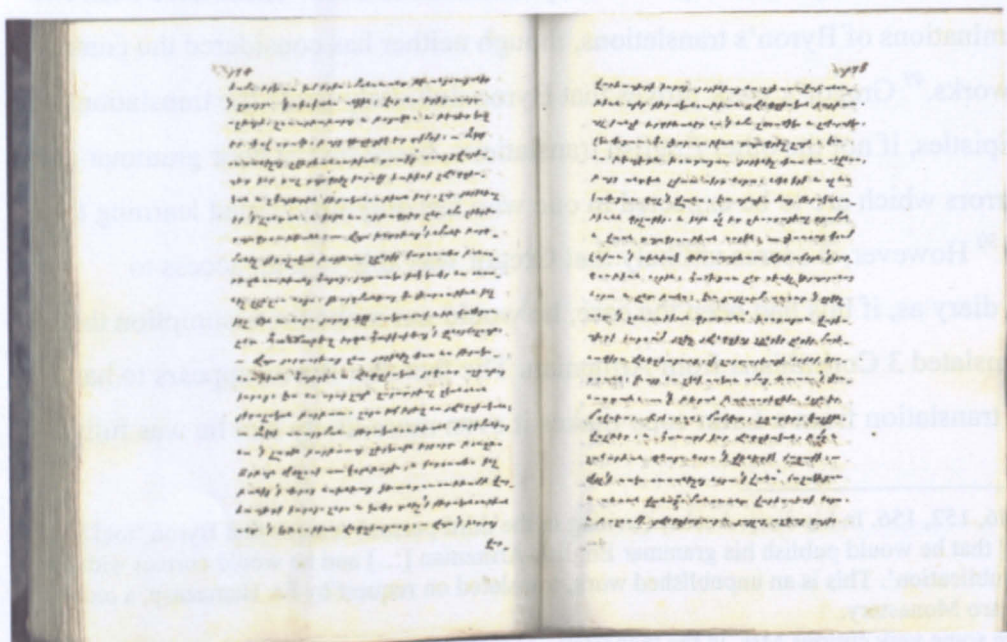


Figure 50: Passages on Byron from Father Paschal Aucher's diary.²⁴

²⁴ Both photographs were taken by Fr. Hamazasp who kindly agreed to track down and translate the relevant portions of the diary from Armenian into English.

aware of the import of its contents, which would have been easier to assimilate from a tongue with which he was at least partially familiar.

Byron sent these translations to Murray asking him to publish them, though Murray did not comply. Byron believed Murray refused because of their scandal-inducing Dualist content.⁵¹ This proves that he was aware that the Epistles were written as attacks on the Dualist sects of the time. As will be shown, his extensive reading had presumably already given him a firm understanding of Dualist doctrines enabling him to recognise them in the vituperative condemnation of the 'impure men' decried in both Epistles.⁵²

Before addressing the specific content of the Epistles and their importance in the context of Byron's own knowledge of Dualism, it is necessary to briefly examine the history of the Epistles. Originally adopted from the Syriac Canon, they are believed to have been written in the late second century and taken up by the Armenian Church in the fourth century. They were eventually translated into Armenian in the eighth century and were still being read in Church in the twelfth century.⁵³ 3 Corinthians was included in thirteenth and fourteenth-century canon lists and in the Apocrypha of the 1666 Oskan Armenian Bible, though it had been relegated to an Appendix in the 1805 Zohrab Armenian Bible, owned by Byron. It is generally thought that the Epistles were written to counteract the Dualist heresy of the day.

But what was this heresy which so threatened Pauline Christianity? The answer is Gnosticism, a combination of Iranian cosmology, Eastern philosophy and Judeo-Christian teachings that spread across Asia, Africa and Europe between the first and third centuries (See Map 1). There are two important issues to remember when discussing Gnosticism. The first is that it evolved contemporaneous with nascent Christianity.⁵⁴ There are even a number of arguments to the effect that the author of

⁵¹ JMA MS. 43351; see also BLJ VIII, 237.

⁵² Appendix 5, v.9.

⁵³ F.C. Conybeare, *The Armenian Church: Heritage and Identity*, (New York: St Vartan Press, 2001), pp.126-147; W. St. Clair Tisdall, 'Armenian versions of the Bible', *International Standard Bible Encyclopedia* (1915); M. Stone, *Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha and Armenian Studies* (Louvain: Peters, 2006); B. Metzger, *The Early Versions of the New Testament: Their Origins, Transmission and Limitations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 157-161.

⁵⁴ W. Bauer, *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity*, trans. D. Ha (London: SCM Press, 1964), pp.44-46, 48-49.

the Gospel of John was a Gnostic, possibly inspired by an earlier Dualistic Jewish splinter sect called the Essenes, themselves likely to have been influenced by the earlier Zoroastrian Dualism.⁵⁵ The second issue is that current scholarship often argues that there is no such thing as Gnosticism, claiming there are too many disparate sects and schools with differing cosmologies to represent a single unified faith.⁵⁶ However, not only are there arguably no more variants of Gnosticism than there are of Christianity but, more importantly, in Byron's own time the concept of Gnosticism as a single heresy was accepted and therefore it shall be addressed as such here.

A great deal is known about Gnosticism due to the polemics written by St Irenaeus, Epiphanius and Hippolytus. Also, not only did a number of Gnostic Gospels survive and remain in general circulation, the most notable being the *Corpus Hermeticum*,⁵⁷ but an ever growing number of manuscripts are being discovered in the deserts of Asia Minor and the North Africa.⁵⁸ Irenaeus of Lyons' *Adversus Haeresis* is perhaps the most useful in the context of Byron's time when it was a highly regarded source on the Gnostics. It contains a long and detailed attack against the various Gnostic schools, particularly those of Simon Magus in Ephesus and Valentinius in Alexandria.⁵⁹ Byron did not read *Adversus Haeresis* but he did read Gibbon's renowned *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* which used Irenaeus' work.⁶⁰ Gibbon was perceived as a revered sceptic and opponent of the corruptions of

⁵⁵ R. Culpepper and A. Black eds., *Exploring the Gospel of John* (Kentuckyville: John Knox Press, 1996); R. Grant, 'The Origin of the Fourth Gospel', *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 69, (1950), pp.305-322; A. Perry, 'Is John an Alexandrian Gospel?', *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 63, (1944), pp.99-106.

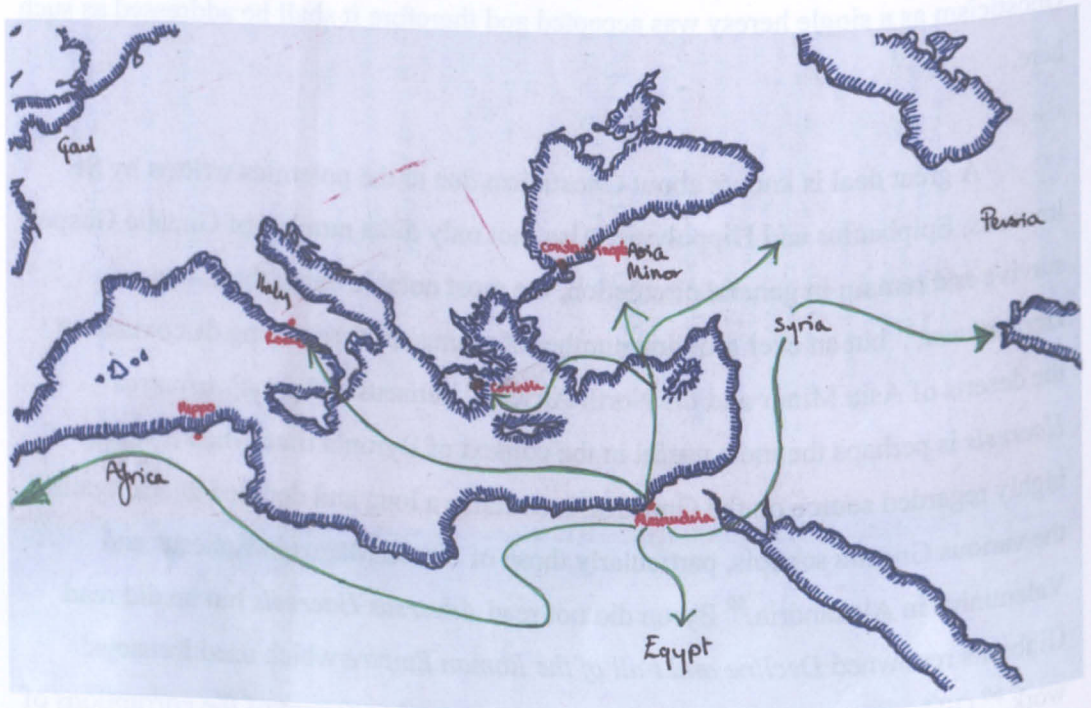
⁵⁶ M. Waldstein and F. Wisse eds., *The Apocryphon of John: Synopsis of Nag Hammadi Codices* (New York: Brill, 1995).

⁵⁷ Brought to Florence after the fall of Constantinople, the *Corpus Hermeticum* was translated into latin, and subsequently into English in 1650 by John Everard, who also translated Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura*; Blake is known to have read a copy of this work which appears to have reinforced his Gnostic tendencies, and a subsequent English translation was made by Walter Scott in 1924, providing another proof of its continuing popularity. *Hermetica: The Ancient Greek and Latin Writings which Contain Religious or Philosophical Teachings, Ascribed to Hermes Trismegistus* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924).

⁵⁸ In particular the Nag Hammadi Codices found in the Egyptian deserts contain numerous Gnostic Gospels, *The Nag Hammadi Codices*, general ed. J. Robinson, 13 vols (Leiden: Brill, 2000).

⁵⁹ Byron would also have known of these men from Burton's *Anatomy*, III, pp.386-9, 437.

⁶⁰ There are numerous mentions of Gibbon and quotes from his works in Byron's letters, in particular: BLJ II.136; IV.95, 161, 168, 248, 250-251; V.22, 81, 217, 251; VI.189; IX.117; XI.45. There are also mentions in *CHP* III.107 and *Parsina*, and Byron actually visited Gibbon's house. He owned a at least one copy of Gibbon's works shown in Appendix 1; Appendix 3, numbers 113 and 166; Appendix 4, number 77; there are also many references to Gibbon's work in the long notes to *CHP* I, II; see also E. Giddey, 'Gibbon, Byron and the Idea of Revolution', *BJ*, 18, (1990), pp.50-60.



Map 1: The Spread of Gnosticism.

Christianity in Byron's circle. His book details the history of the Gnostics and their doctrines. He describes how they 'blended with the faith of Christ many sublime but obscure tenets which they derived from oriental philosophy' paying particular attention to their denigration of the Creator God who they perceived as 'meanly jealous' and 'liable to passion and error'. They argued that there must be 'two principles' in the 'mysterious hierarchy of the invisible world'.⁶¹ Of these two principles, one is the good, divine Being who created the heavens. The other is a Demiurgical figure who created matter, the 'god of this world'. Often given the name of Jaldabaoth or Ialdabaoth, he is the 'son of shame' or 'the son of chaos', a name with the same etymological roots as Ba'al, the Caananite deity of the OT and the Sun God worshipped in Byron's *Sardanapalus*.⁶²

Gibbon and other sources would have informed Byron that Gnostics believed that the Creator God of the OT was the Demiurge.⁶³ Therefore the eating of the apple in Eden was not the cause of mankind's eternal damnation as taught in Byron's Calvinistic schools. Instead the serpent and the apple brought revelatory enlightenment and a chance of redemption. The Satan-serpent character is perceived as a Christ-like emissary bringing a special form of knowledge called *gnosis*.⁶⁴ This *gnosis* allowed the redeemed to cast off the blinding darkness of the evil Demiurge and receive salvation and the light of God. As will be shown, this interpretation of Genesis can shed new light on Byron's *Cain* and allows for a number of new readings in this drama and various other poems.

The *Corpus Hermeticum* contains a description of *gnosis* as the 'virtue of the soul', which makes it 'divine'.⁶⁵ This leads to the second tenet of Gnosticism, namely that the Demiurge not only formed the material world but also its human inhabitants. This occurred through a variety of means, depending on the text. The one unifying factor is the belief that although the physical carapace might have been formed by Ialdabaoth, the animating soul (a fragment of Divine Light) was provided by or stolen

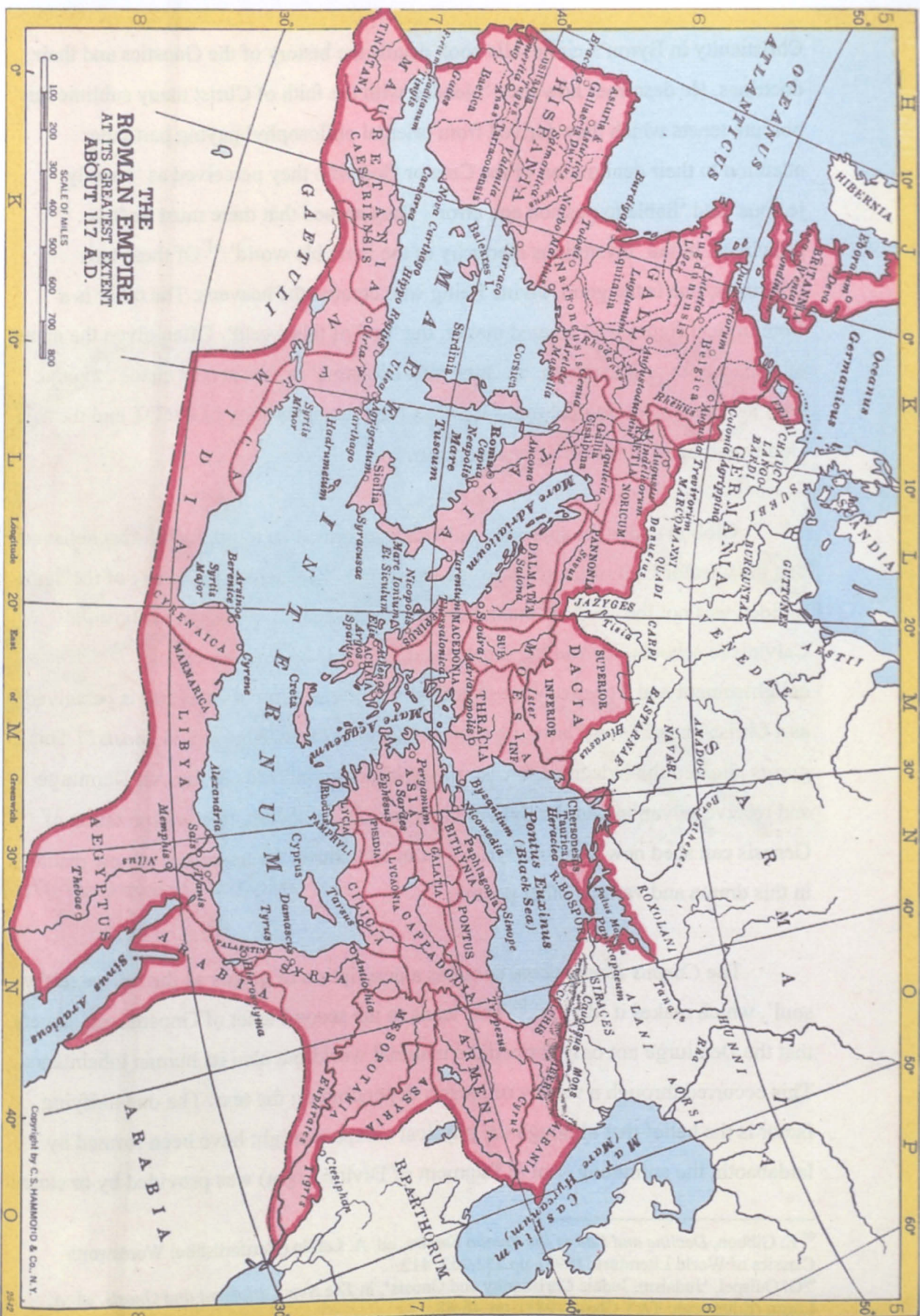
⁶¹ E. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. A. Lentin (Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Classics of World Literature, 1998), pp.252-253, 412.

⁶² G. Quispel, 'Judaism, Judaic Christianity and Gnosis', in *The New Testament and Gnosis*, ed. A. Logan (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1983), pp. 46-68.

⁶³ *Adv. Haer.* 1.22.1.

⁶⁴ *Adv. Haer.* 1.20.3.

⁶⁵ Scott, *Hermetica*, I, p.193.



Map Two: The Roman Empire.

from God. *Gnosis* strips away fleshly delusions and reminds the soul of its divine origin.

Gnostics taught that everything fashioned by evil must itself be evil. Gnostics therefore argued that only once the soul had been released from the corrupt body and realised the truth about the illusions of the world could it achieve salvation and return to the divine light, leaving its clay prison behind.

This extreme anti-somatism resulted in two doctrines that set Gnosticism and subsequent Dualist heresies in opposition to the Orthodox Church. As flesh was wholly and irrevocably corrupt, Gnostics argued that the spiritual Christ would never and could never have truly become man because incorruption cannot clothe itself in corruption. They practised a form of doceticism, claiming that Christ's flesh was illusory.⁶⁶ It is arguably due to this Gnostic doceticism that the tale of Doubting Thomas is included in the Gospels. Thomas refused to believe that Christ was physically risen until he had plunged his fingers into the gaping wounds. The second doctrine leads on from this. The spiritual Christ would not save the corrupted and corrupting flesh. His mission is to release the soul, returning its divine spark to God. Thus, argue the Gnostics, there is no physical resurrection merely a spiritual one.⁶⁷ It is this argument which attracts the brunt of Irenaeus' ire and that of the other anti-gnostic polemics.⁶⁸ Yet ironically it is based on a number of Scripture passages, most notably 1Cor 15.50:

Flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of heaven, nor does the perishable inherit the imperishable.⁶⁹

It is interesting that there are so many passages in the NT that were used by the Gnostics, particularly the Pauline Epistles and the Gospel of John. It shows how extremely similar many aspects of the two faiths were, as does the fact that the epigraph for this Chapter is an adaptation of 2 Corinthians 4.4. Fuel for Dualist

⁶⁶ *Adv. Haer.* 3.11.3; Gibbon, p.412; 'Doceticism' is defined by the OED as 'the doctrine that Christ's body was not human but either phantom or of real but celestial substance'.

⁶⁷ *Adv. Haer.* 4.3.7.

⁶⁸ *Adv. Haer.* 5.2.2.

⁶⁹ Other texts include John 3.6 and 6.63, which also disparage the body, as does Galatians 5.16-21, Romans 13.14, 15.21, and 1 Corinthians 2.6-8.



Figure 51: San Lazzaro Monastery.



doctrines was easily obtainable from Orthodox sources. However, there are also a number of anti-Gnostic passages, which provide equal testament to the widespread popularity of the heresy. This brings us back to the apocryphal Epistles translated by Byron. These were believed to have been written not only to attack Gnosticism but also to rectify passages in a number of the Pauline Epistles that were considered borderline heretical, particularly 1 Corinthians and 2 Corinthians.

I will now look at the apocryphal Armenian ‘Epistle from the Corinthians to St Paul the Apostle’, translated by Byron at the San Lazaro Monastery. The Epistle opens with a complaint against one ‘Simon’ who has come to Corinth to ‘disturb the faith of some with deceitful and corrupt words’, v.2. The reference to Simon could refer to Simon Magus, the alleged founder of Gnosticism in the area. Byron would have been aware of Simon Magus from his reading of Burton’s *Anatomy of Melancholy* and his biblical reading, as well as Gibbon’s *Rise and Fall*. That the Epistle was written in Syria during the pinnacle of Gnosticism’s popularity renders it even more likely that it was directed against this particular heresy. A closer examination of the specific teachings of this Simon reveal pronounced similarities between these ‘sinful words’, v.9, and Gnostic doctrines. They refuse to ‘affirm the omnipotence of God’, v.10, implying that there is another of equal power. This other power seems to have created the world and mankind – the ‘world is the work’ of ‘some one of the angels’, v. 15, and man is not ‘altogether created by god’, v.13. This intimates that part of man was created by God, similar to Gnostic doctrines. Another Gnostic teaching is the docetic denial ‘that Jesus Christ was born of the flesh of the virgin Mary’, v. 14, along with the refusal to ‘affirm the resurrection of the flesh’, v.12.

The parallels between these tenets and those of the Gnostics discussed above are undeniable. Byron himself was certainly aware of them.⁷⁰ Vrej Nersessian is mistaken to argue that they have no anti-dualistic content,⁷¹ as this Epistle and its companion 3 Corinthians (examined later) are unmistakably discussing a Dualist heresy. The fact that Byron translated this Epistle himself, albeit with some guidance from his tutor, makes it an extremely valuable source. Given Byron’s apparent interest

⁷⁰ BLJ VIII. 237.

⁷¹ Private correspondence, email (18/3/2010).

in Dualism, it should be pointed out that a number of the doctrines condemned in this text are highly similar to those held by Byron himself. As the epigraph for this section shows, Byron was a firm believer in the immortality of the soul.⁷² Yet, in one letter to Hodgson he states emphatically that he ‘will have nothing to do with [the] immortality’ of physical resurrection, such as Hodgson and other Calvinists adhered to, on the grounds that it could only be ‘for the purposes of punishment’.⁷³ Like the Gnostics, Byron appears to have rejected this notion of ‘material resurrection’ as ‘strange and even absurd’.⁷⁴ He also challenged the idea of Christ’s own physical incarnation and subsequent death.⁷⁵ The very fact that Byron chose to translate these works, out of the millions of scrolls and manuscripts available in the San Lázaro library is itself arguably evidence of his interest in Dualism.

The ‘devilish doctrine of the Persian’: Zoroastrianism and Zurvanism⁷⁶

The Corinthian Epistles are not the only translation exercises in Aucher’s *Armenian English Grammar* that deal with a Dualistic faith. Nor was Gnosticism the only or the earliest form of Dualism to have an impact on Armenia and the surrounding regions. There is preceding strain of Dualism which Byron was also aware of from various sources. Once again one of the most interesting can be found in Aucher’s *Grammar*, in a subsequent translation exercise taken from *Refutatio* by the fifth-century writer Eznik of Kolb, referred to as Esnacios in the *Grammar*, (see Appendix 7). This passage deals with an Armenian version of what is arguably the earliest form of Dualism, Zoroastrianism.

Zoroastrianism was a Persian religion founded on the concept of ‘two primal spirits [...] the better and the bad’ who ‘established life and not-life’.⁷⁷ Unlike subsequent Dualist faiths, Zoroastrianism was not anti-cosmic. Instead it taught that the Good Principle Ahura Mazda was the ‘supreme benevolent providence’ who

⁷² See also BLJ I. 148; III.225; IX. 45.

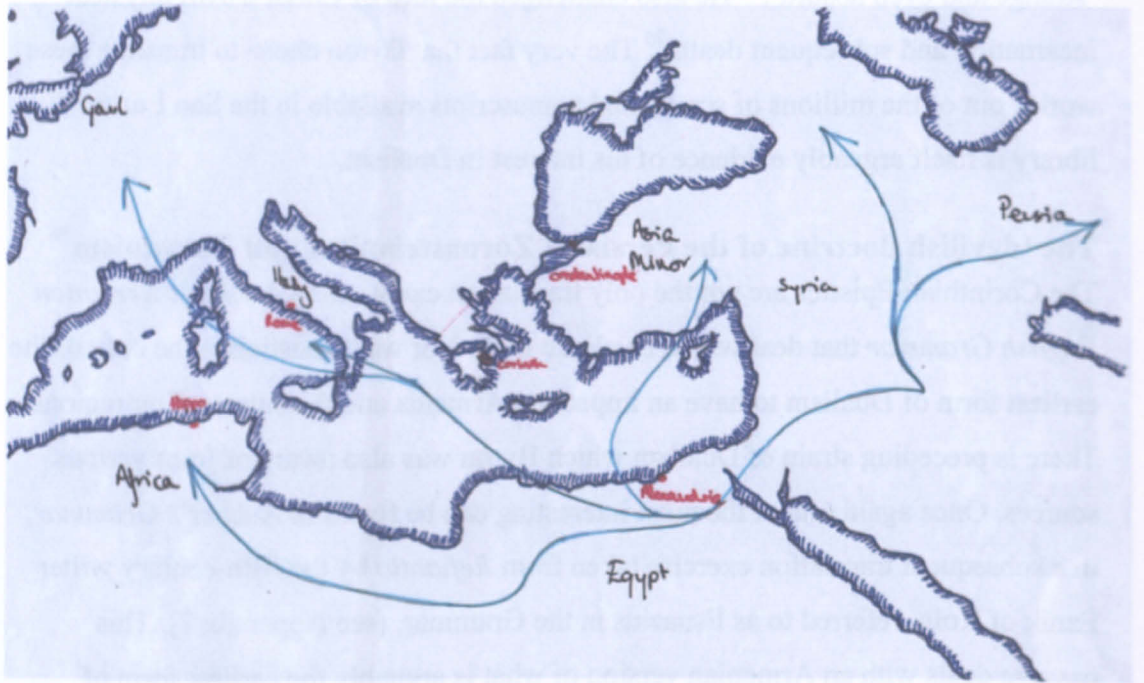
⁷³ BLJ II. 89; IX. 45.

⁷⁴ BLJ IX. 45. See also BLJ II, 97 and Blessington, pp. 148-149.

⁷⁵ BLJ II.97.

⁷⁶ DJ XIII.41.

⁷⁷ Yasna 30 (Zoroastrian religious text from the *Zend Avesta*) cited in D. Fox, ‘Darkness and Light: the Zoroastrian View’, *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 35, (1967), p.130.



Map 3: The Spread of Zoroastrianism.

created all the world and thus matter was not the source of evil. Evil came from Angra Mainyu, the Evil Principle, 'all wickedness and full of death'.⁷⁸

Founded by the prophet Zoroaster, there is some doubt as to the exact starting date, though it is generally accepted to have started sometime between 1700 and 1000 BC. Spreading across Asia Minor and North Africa, (See Map 3), under the auspices of the Persian, Aechmaenid, Sassanid and Seleucid Empires, Zoroastrianism had a massive impact on the surrounding regions, particularly after it became the State religion. However the rise of Islam and the Ottoman Empire resulted in a decline in Zoroastrianism. Although there are still some 10,000 Zoroastrians in Southern Iran today, the majority emigrated to India, maintaining their Zoroastrian beliefs and practises under the name of Parsees. Towards the end of the eighteenth century a French traveller, Antequil du Perron, voyaged to India and obtained a copy of the Zoroastrian-Parsee holy texts, the *Zend Avesta*, translating and publishing it in 1771. After this Zoroastrianism, formerly only known through the works of writers such as Plutarch and Herodotus along with brief mentions in the Bible, became increasingly popular. Butler describes it as 'the thinking radical's favourite form of paganism'.⁷⁹ Although it seems unlikely that Byron read the *Zend Avesta*, he was certainly aware of Zoroastrianism from various sources and mentions it in his letters and conversations as well as his poetry.⁸⁰ Moreover, Byron's extensive reading would have once again brought him into contact with sources on Zoroastrianism.

Not only do Byron's reading lists show that he read the majority of ancient sources on Zoroastrianism,⁸¹ but his sale records indicate that he also read historical works based on these sources. The most infamous of these works is the *Dictionary*, by Pierre Bayle,⁸² which Byron owned at least two copies of and valued highly.⁸³ The

⁷⁸ *Greater Bundahsin* 1.1-4, a Middle Persian Text trans. by B.T. Anklesaria, (Bombay, 1956) and Yasna 43.11.

⁷⁹ Butler, 'Romantic Manichaeism', p.15, exemplified perhaps by Thomas Love Peacock's work 'Ahrimanes' and Volney's *Ruins*.

⁸⁰ For example BLJ II. 26, 89.

⁸¹ For a list of these, see M. Haug, *Essays on the Language, Writings and Religion of the Parsis* (Amsterdam: Philo Press 1971).

⁸² For more on Bayle's popularity and role as a 'forbidden book' see Darnton, *Forbidden Bestsellers*, pp.46-67; R. Whelan, 'The Anatomy of Superstition – a Study of the Historical Theory and Practice of Pierre Bayle', *SVEC*, 259, (1989), pp. 1-240; J. Cairns, *Unbelief in the Eighteenth Century as Contrasted with its Earlier and Later History* (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1881).

importance of Bayle as a source of Byron's knowledge of Dualism, and in fact religion in general, cannot be overestimated. It has been addressed by various scholars,⁸⁴ yet once again their examinations of Byron's use of Bayle would have benefited from a more in-depth understanding of the religions in question and the use to which Byron put this information in his poetry.

Bayle has a long entry on Zoroastrianism.⁸⁵ He also provides extensive quotations from works such as Plutarch's *Iside et Osiride* on 'Zoroaster the mage'.⁸⁶ Plutarch describes the doctrines of a later form of Zoroastrianism where the names have evolved slightly. 'Oromazes', formerly Ahura Mazda the 'good power', was 'born of purest light', while 'Arimanius', formerly Angra Mainyu, is 'of darkness' and 'brought famine and plague to the world'. They are locked in 'war against each other'. Its Zoroastrianism is a form of mitigated Dualism holding the Evil Principle to be inferior to the Good, so inevitably Arimanius 'will be destroyed and exterminated'.⁸⁷ Another extremely useful source is the *Bibliothèque Orientale* by d'Herbelot, which contains a detailed entry on 'la Religion de Zoroastre, qui pose deux princeps [...] Dieu ou demon' which are responsible for everything, 'la lumière & les ténèbres; le bien & le mal'.⁸⁸ Gibbon makes various mentions of Zoroastrian practices and beliefs as does Voltaire whose Complete Works, owned by Byron, contain more references to Zoroastrianism than can be discussed, references of which Byron was perfectly

⁸³ BLJ IV.102, 104 106; VIII.237, 238; IX.76; Kennedy, p.89; Leigh Hunt states that Byron's 'favourite authors were Bayle and Gibbon' in *Lord Byron and Some of his Contemporaries* (London: Henry Colburn, 1828), II, p.93; Appendix 3, number 190; Appendix 4, numbers 13 and 14, would support this. Hobhouse's notes to *CHP* IV also relied heavily on Bayle.

⁸⁴ P. Thorslev, 'Byron and Bayle' in Hirst, *Byron and Religion*, pp.58-76; R. Aycock, 'Lord Byron and Bayle's Dictionary', *The Yearbook of English Studies*, 5, (1975), pp.2-152.

⁸⁵ *GHCD* X, 'Zoroastrianism'.

⁸⁶ *GHCD*, VII, 'Manichaeism', Note C, see also X, 'Zoroastrianism' for comments by Pliny and Eusebius.

⁸⁷ *GHCD*, X, 'Zoroastrianism' Note E. Byron was certainly aware of Plutarch, as his numerous references and quotes from his works attest, including BLJ IV. 77; VIII. 58; IX. 47; XI. 70; Appendix 1.

⁸⁸ D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, (Montana: Kessinger Publishing, reprint 1782 ed.), IV, pp.14-15; Appendix 2, number 149; Appendix 3, number 191.



Figure 52: Zoroastrian Fire Temple at Shapur.²⁵

²⁵ From Dignas and Winter, p.53.

aware.⁸⁹ In particular his story *Zadig or a Destiny* contains numerous mentions as does his *Philosophical Dictionary*.⁹⁰

Cochrane points out Sir John Malcom's *History of Persia* as another source, one which pays particular attention to the role of fire and sun in Zoroastrian religious practises.⁹¹ Zoroastrians are often termed Fireworshippers because the Good Principle is explicitly associated with light. Zoroastrians do not actually worship the fire itself, they merely venerate their deity through fire, or *Asha*, which they perceived to be the purest and most powerful source of light on earth and therefore the best medium.⁹² Bayle is not the only one of Byron's sources to discuss this.⁹³ It was apparently fairly common knowledge, even Shelley mentions the 'Magian worship of the Sun as Creator and preserver of the world'.⁹⁴ As Porter's 1821 travelogue shows, Zoroastrian fire-worship was still active in nineteenth-century Persia.⁹⁵ One of Byron's servants, Friese, had 'been among all the worshippers of fire in Persia' (a common term for Zoroastrians).⁹⁶

Another source which is often singled out, though possibly its influence is overestimated, is Volney's *Ruins, or a Survey of the Revolutions of Empires*. This work lauds Zoroastrianism at the expense of Christianity, describing it as the 'only true and infallible doctrine' while all other religions are 'the blundering followers of Zoroaster'.⁹⁷ *Ruins* provides one of best examples of the radical and revolutionary attraction to Dualistic faiths which allow them to challenge Christianity's supremacy.

⁸⁹ Voltaire's irreligion was discussed earlier. Byron's admiration comes through the pages of his letters, including BLJ IV.139; V.45, 203, 199, 215; VI. 77; VII. 101, 103; see H. Orel, 'English Romantic Poets and the Enlightenment: Nine essays on a Literary Relationship', *SVEC*, 103, (1973); JMA MS. 43447; *CHP* III. 106.

⁹⁰ Voltaire, trans. R. Pearson, *Candide and Other Stories* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998) pp.122-202, *Philosophical Dictionary* (London: J & H L Hunt, 1824), Vol. 13 'Persia' pp.45-58.

⁹¹ J. Malcom *History of Persia*, pp.193-198, sent in Manuscript form to Byron by Murray in 1814 (BLJ II. 147-148), see also Appendix 3, number 243. Discussed in P. Cochrane, 'Manfred and Zoroastrianism', http://www.internationalbyronsociety.org/images/stories/pdf_manf_zoroast.pdf.

⁹² Byron depicts a similarly reverent perception of fire as 'that absorbing element, / Which most personifies the soul' in *Sardanapalus* V.i.433-434.

⁹³ *GHDC*, X 'Zoroastrianism', Note G; see also D. Hume, 'Dissertation on the Natural History of Religions', in *GHCD*, I, 'Atheism'.

⁹⁴ Shelley, *Devil Notebook*, p.45

⁹⁵ R. Porter, *Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, Ancient Babylonia During the Years 1817, 1818, 1819 and 1820* (London: Longman, 1821), p.298.

⁹⁶ BLJ I.208.

⁹⁷ M. Volney, *Ruins, or a Survey of the Revolutions of Empires*, trans. J. Johnson (London: for J. Johnson, 1795), pp.164, 113.

Although Volney's *Ruins* influenced both Percy and Mary Shelley, who read the work and may have transmitted its content to Byron, it cannot be said to have had a direct impact on Byron as there is no mention of his ever having read *Ruins*. In light of this, Butler overestimates the importance of both *Ruins* and Percy Shelley himself as sources of Zoroastrian information for Byron. After all, Byron's extensive reading would have provided him with far more information on Zoroastrianism than his rather brief friendship with the Atheist Shelley who was 'crazy against religion'.⁹⁸

There is another, arguably more influential, source which has been routinely underestimated and even ignored by all bar Cochrane. This is the aforementioned passage from Eznik's *Refutatio*, a translation exercise in the Aremnian Grammar. Given his frequently expressed pride in his translation of the Armenian Epistles and the lack of such mentions of making a translation of Eznik's passage, it is highly unlikely that Byron wrote the English translation as Cochrane claims.⁹⁹ However, it is equally unlikely that he didn't read the translation, given his participation in its publication. Moreover the choice of a passage that does not actively attack Zurvanism but simply provides a creation tale is surprising from a devout monk. It is possible that Byron chose the passage in question – certainly this seems more likely given that Eznik's excerpt only appears in the first edition of the Grammar and was subsequently dropped following Byron's death. Incidentally Cochrane is another who overlooks the Epistles as a source of information on Dualism, focusing instead on Eznik's work and its impact on Byron's understanding of Zoroastrianism.

A fifth-century Armenian writer, Eznik attacked the spread of Zoroastrianism in Armenia. The earliest nation to become Christian, following the conversion of its king in 301, Armenia was nonetheless a hotbed of competing faiths throughout its existence. This is because it occupies a central position in Asia Minor.¹⁰⁰ Described as 'a battleground throughout the course of her history',¹⁰¹ Armenia was often the bone

⁹⁸ BLJ VII.174.

⁹⁹ 'Byron and the Birth of Ahrimanes', *Keats Shelley Review*, 6, (1991), pp. 49-59. Cochrane is not alone in ascribing the inclusion of such an explicitly Dualist text to Byron, a similar idea can also be found in *Late Antiquity, a Guide to Post-Classical Work*, G. Bowersock, P. Brown, O. Grabar (Harvard: University Press, 1999), p.144.

¹⁰⁰ B. Dignas, E. Winter, *Rome and Persia in Late Antiquity: Neighbours and Rivals* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp.173-4.

¹⁰¹ S. Der Nerssian, *Armenia and the Byzantine Empire* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974), p.5.



Map Four: The Sassanid Empire and Zoroastrianism

(From: G. Rawlinson *The Seven Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World* Vol. 3, www.gutenberg.org/files/16167/16167-h).

of contention between warring Empires, most notably those of Rome/Byzantium and the Persian Seleucid/Sassanid Empires. Controlled by both at one time or another, Armenia was frequently infiltrated by the heretics of each Empire, a problem heightened by the fact that a number of major trade routes bisected the country.

Over the centuries, Zoroastrianism had become the state religion of the Persian Empire, whose rulers were invested under the auspices of Ahura Mazda.¹⁰² Zoroastrianism was the dominant religion for a long time and remained influential into the medieval ages.¹⁰³ This be seen in the various Christian Armenian works written to counteract the spread of Zoroastrianism.¹⁰⁴ Eznik's *Refutatio* is one such. The passage in Aucher's Grammar deals with a specific variant of Zoroastrianism known as Zurvanism, particularly common in the Sassanid period.¹⁰⁵ This faith adheres to the concept of Two Principles, one Good and the other Evil. Zurvanists believed that there was a single omnipotent creator, Zurvan, who made the Two Principles and gave them dominion over the universe, rather like God creating Satan and Christ. These Principles had equal powers which resulted in a form of cyclical dominion, first one then the other having control of the world, until finally Oromazes will defeat his brother for eternity.¹⁰⁶

Bayle discusses this Zurvanist 'war between the army of light and the army of darkness'.¹⁰⁷ Byron's contemporary and Shelley's close friend Thomas Love Peacock's novel *Nightmare Abbey* also refers to the 'divided and equal dominion' of Ahrimanes and Oromazes, derivations of the Zoroastrian Principles Angra Mainyu and Ahura Mazda, noting that 'sometimes one of these two has temporary

¹⁰² The close relationship between Church and State can be seen in the habit of naming rulers after Oromazdes, particularly in the Sassanid dynasty – Hormuz I in 271, Hormuz II in 303 and Hormuz III in 579, for example, B. Dignas and E. Winter, *Rome and Persia in Late Antiquity: Neighbours and Rivals* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007) pp.23-38, 56; and other examples of this can be found in the various commemorative carvings, see figure 53.

¹⁰³ J.R. Russell, *Zoroastrianism in Armenia* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1987); Stoyanov, *Other God*, pp.74, 156; V. Nersessian, *The Tondrakian Movement: Religious Movements in the Armenian Church from the Fourth to the Tenth Centuries* (London: Kahn & Averill, 1987), pp.1-4.

¹⁰⁴ A number of these can be seen in the other translation exercises in the Grammar.

¹⁰⁵ Obolensky, *Bogomils*, pp.14-17; Stoyanov, *Other God*, p.38.

¹⁰⁶ This can also be seen in the later Zoroastrian text the *Greater Bundahsin* 1.1-4 and 1.28 which describe how 'two brothers of one womb' have alternating supremacy for nine thousand years before Ohrmazd gains permanent dominion. See also Plutarch's *Iside et Osiride* cited in Bayle.

¹⁰⁷ GHCD, X, 'Zoroastrianism', Note F; for more on cyclical dominion see Stoyanov, pp.40-44.



Figure 53: Rock relief of the investiture of Ardasir I, watched over by Ahura Mazda.²⁶

²⁶ From Dignas and Winter, p.93.

supremacy'.¹⁰⁸ His unpublished poem 'Ahrimanes' describes the existence of 'two gods' in the world, each having 'delegated sway' by 'turns':

First Oromazes – lord of peace and day –
Dominion held o'er nature and mankind.
Now Ahrimanes rules, and holds his way
In storms.¹⁰⁹

Like others who challenged Church and State, Peacock stated that 'this precise period in time' saw the 'Evil Principle' at 'the point of his plenitude of power'. Interestingly, in a footnote to the novel Peacock claims that Byron's own use of Zoroastrian/Zurvanist doctrines of cyclical dominion in his poetry express a similar belief, particularly 'the use he makes of Ahrimanes in *Manfred*'.¹¹⁰ Certainly this theory would explain a number of Byron's unflattering depictions of God, discussed in Chapter One.

Byron makes various allusions to Zoroastrianism in *Manfred*. Manfred is described as 'a magian of great and fearful skill' – magians or magi were the Zoroastrian priesthood.¹¹¹ Byron glosses the ruler of the spirit world, Arimanes, as referring to the Evil Principle Ahrimanes of Zoroastrianism, he also describes Manfred as going 'into the abode of the Evil Principle'.¹¹² *Manfred* was written between 1816 and 1817, partly during Byron's time at the San Lazaro monastery and it is interesting that Peacock's work picks up on Byron's use of cyclical dominion. It is likely that this is at least partially attributable to Byron's acquaintance with Eznik's passage, which describes the creation of 'Hormistus and Harminus' and Zervanus' decision to give 'sovereignty' to the elder twin. Byron's knowledge of Zoroastrianism would have enabled him to recognise these names as derivations of Oromazes and Ahrimanes. Harminus hears his father's words and ensures he is born first. Zervanus is disgusted by his firstborn who is 'dark and offensive', unlike Hormistus who is 'bright and of grateful odour'. Yet he is unable to go back on his promise, granting

¹⁰⁸ Byron was aware of Peacock, describing him as 'a very clever fellow' and leaving him to be the main executor of Shelley's Estate, BLJ VIII.145, see also BLJ X.16.

¹⁰⁹ 'Ahrimanes' Canto I.18, cited in full in Young, 'Peacock and Ahrimanes'.

¹¹⁰ Peacock, *Nightmare Abbey*, p.31.

¹¹¹ *Manfred* II.iv.31.

¹¹² BLJ IV.54-55.

rule to his 'deceitful and malicious' son for 'nine thousand years'. After that time, Hormistus 'shall reign alone'.¹¹³

This concept of cyclical dominion explains a great deal of the popular eighteenth and nineteenth-century interest in Dualistic faiths, particularly those such as Zurvanist Zoroastrianism which teach that the Evil Principle can be mistakenly worshipped as the Good Principle.¹¹⁴ For example it allowed radicals and revolutionaries to claim that Church and State were in fact the tools of Ahriman not the Good Principle. Cyclical dominion carries a message of change, emphasising the impermanence of political regimes, which is inevitably attractive to those seeking to change their own societies. A number of Byron's contemporaries were attracted to Zoroastrianism for this very reason and Peacock's unfinished Zoroastrian poem 'Ahriman' centres upon the clergy's mistaken worship, focusing on the fact that their deity demands bloody sacrifices and must therefore be the Evil Principle. Byron's 'infernal god', that 'dusk and awful figure' who rises 'from out the earth' and is shrouded in darkness can be interpreted as a representation of this concept, particularly given that the 'infernal god' in question is Arimanes.¹¹⁵ The phrase 'infernal god' is a particularly apt description for this alternate deity, conceived to be masquerading as the good God. This representation is akin to Cain's expressions of uncertainty concerning Jehovah's goodness discussed in Chapter One. It can also be seen in the Angel's condemnation of Noah's unbending rigidity in *Heaven and Earth* has already been examined as an expression of Byron's conviction that the Calvinist deity was not the true God. This reading gains further weight when Byron's understanding of cyclical dominion is considered.

Manichean Millenarianism and the 'supremacy of Ahriman'

The concept of cyclical dominion was not limited to Zoroastrian splinter sects. It became a central tenet of the Christianised Dualist heresies that succeeded Gnosticism. Founded in the third century by Mani, Manichaeism combined Zoroastrianism, Gnosticism and Christianity with a variety of other doctrines and religions to create a wildly popular hybrid that spread across much of the known

¹¹³ Appendix 7.

¹¹⁴ In 'Ahriman' Peacock wrote 'Yea, even on Oromazes' self they call / But Ahriman hears their secret prayer' as he is 'the monarch of the world', I.26, I.27.

¹¹⁵ *Manfred* III.iv.62-65.



Figure 54: Birth of Ohrmazd and Ahriman. Zurvan is the central figure and his twin sons are emerging from him. Luristan eighth-century BC.²⁷

²⁷ J. Burton-Russell, *The Devil: Perceptions of Evil from Antiquity to Primitive Christianity*, p.109.

world (See Map 5) and continued to haunt the Orthodox Church long after its official demise in the seventh century. Interestingly, given the dates of the heresy, it can be argued that the Armenian Church's adoption of 3 Corinthians in the fourth century was due to the spread of Manichaeism into Armenia at this time.

As Byron would have been aware from his reading of Bayle, Gibbon, Voltaire and other historical texts, Manichaeism spread rapidly across Asia and Africa threatening both the Byzantine and the Persian State religions.¹¹⁶ Like its predecessors, Manichaeism is based on the idea of two eternal opposing principles, Light and Dark. The world was formed as a result of Dark invading Light and is a mixture of both. Now the Light struggles to free itself from the Darkness so that God may reclaim his lost elements and render the Dark powerless. Mani explained how God sends hypostatized divine attributes to help free the Light. One such was the Demiurge who created the world as a prison, trapping the darkness so that souls could be purified of its taint. Subsequent evocations, such as Christ, were supposed to provide illumination in order that humans could realise their true selves, previously clouded by darkness, and recognise that they share in the very nature of the transcendent God. Like the Gnostics, Mani believed he had been granted a special revelation, an insight into 'the mystery of the Light and the Darkness, the mystery of the conflict and the great war' and the 'intermingling' of these two entities. He imparted this knowledge to his followers.¹¹⁷

Luckily, a number of Manichean texts still survive and give a direct insight into the teachings of the sect.¹¹⁸ However, the most well known and influential source is still St. Augustine whose numerous anti-Manichean works had an unparalleled influence on the Church and its attitude to heretics.¹¹⁹ Himself once a Manichean before converting to Christianity, Augustine's works contain priceless information.¹²⁰

¹¹⁶ GHCD, VII, 'Manicheans' Note D. In fact, Manicheans were the first heretics to be executed by the Church, and Mani was eventually executed by the Zoroastrian magi in 276. In Voltaire's *Philosophical Dictionary* there is a long discussion of Manichaeism and its Zoroastrian and Christian origins, III, pp.249-252.

¹¹⁷ S. Holroyd, *The Elements of Gnosticism* (Dorset: Element, 1994), p.55,

¹¹⁸ I. Gardener and S. Lieu eds. *Manichean Texts from the Roman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

¹¹⁹ G. Wills, *Saint Augustine* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1999), pp.25-26, 49.

¹²⁰ Byron was aware of Augustine from references in Bayle, Gibbon and Voltaire amongst others. His dislike of Augustine, 'the great priority', comes across most powerfully in *DJ XXX.v-vi*.



Figure 55: The mound where Byron is thought to have written parts of *Manfred* when studying at San Lazzaro Monastery.²⁸

²⁸ Taken when visiting the monastery.

Not only does Augustine discuss their belief that all matter is the dark creation of the Evil Principle who is 'corruptible', he also discusses their loathing of the 'fleshly chains' of the body,¹²¹ which is 'made up of pollution itself'.¹²² Mani taught that 'this body is defiled and moulded from a mould of defilement' therefore purity and redemption could only come through the liberation of the soul 'from darkness'.¹²³ Bayle describes how this resulted in the idea that flesh 'ought to be hated, shamefully used and treated with all possible marks of dishonour'.¹²⁴ As with the Gnostics, the loathing of the body resulted in the veneration of the soul and a desire for its redemption. This could only be achieved by revelatory *gnosis* as Mani taught that baptism could not work – the body was too corrupted to ever wash it clean of sin. It was 'a thing most defiled and fashioned though foulness',¹²⁵ and even after repeated washing 'from it still come blood and bile and flatulence and excrement of shame and loathsomeness', proving its corruption.¹²⁶ As noted by Augustine, this anti-cosmism led the Manicheans to abjure meat, wines and sex, all of which were created in order to further blind the divine souls to their true state.¹²⁷ Bayle discusses how this resulted in the Manicheans making 'it unlawful to marry or beget children'.¹²⁸

Byron's letters contain a similar revulsion for the 'Mass of Corruption', the human body which traps the soul's 'spark of [...] celestial fire' that seeks to 'mingle [...] with the Gods'.¹²⁹ Certainly this notion of the soul as re-uniting with the Divine Light after the pollution of darkness is filtered out is markedly Manichean. In a subsequent letter he again refers to the 'spark of celestial fire which illuminates, yet burns, this frail tenement'.¹³⁰ Here again is this Manichean concept of the soul as part of the Divine Light which actually burns through the imprisoning body – possibly in order to escape confinement.

¹²¹ Augustine, *De Haeresibus* cited in *GHCD*, VII, 'Manicheans', Note B.

¹²² Augustine, *On the Moral of Manicheans*, p.74.

¹²³ CMC, p.40.

¹²⁴ *GHCD*, VII, 'Manichaeism' Note B.

¹²⁵ CMC, p. 85.

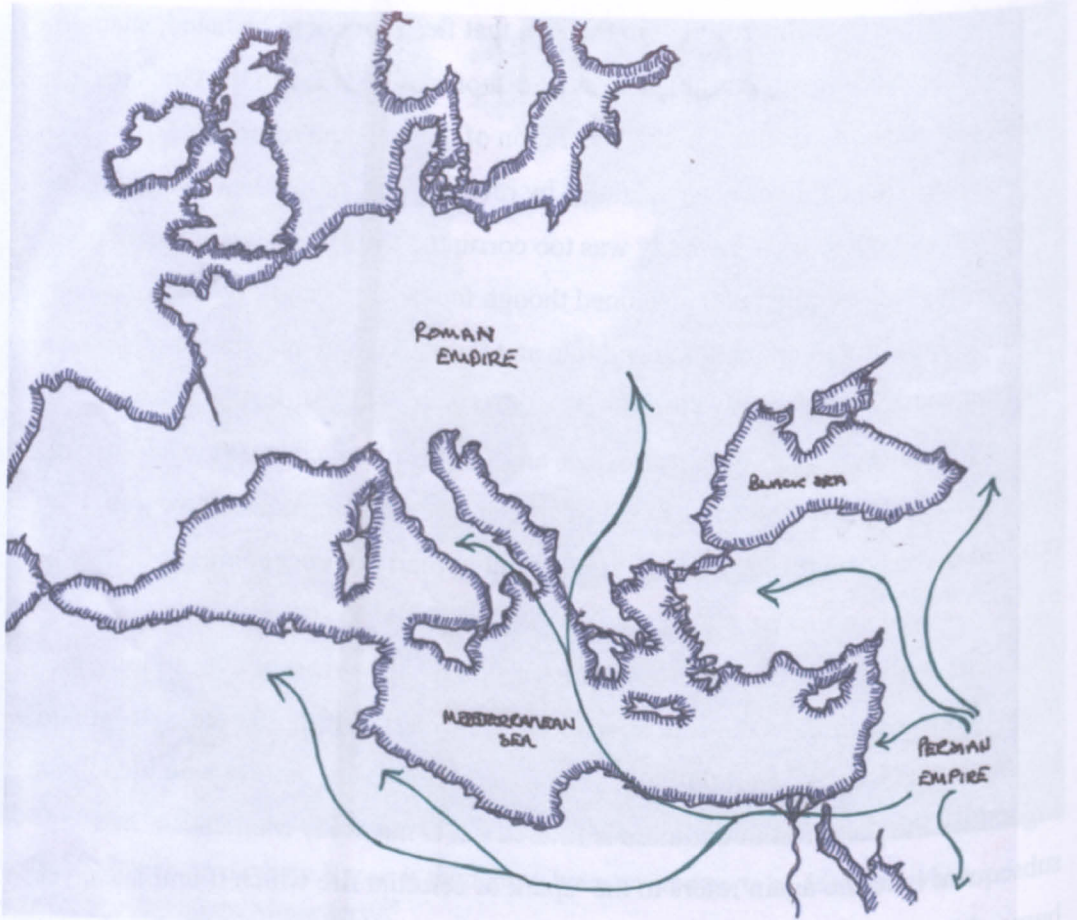
¹²⁶ CMC, p.41.

¹²⁷ Augustine, *De Haeresibus*, cited in *GHCD*, VII, 'Manicheans' Note B.

¹²⁸ *GHCD*, VII, 'Manicheans', Note B.

¹²⁹ BLJ II.69.

¹³⁰ BLJ III. 225.



Map 5: The Spread of Manichaeism.

The similarity between these doctrines and those condemned in Byron's Armenian Epistles makes it easy to see why the Epistles would have been introduced into the Armenian canon to counteract Manichaeism. In particular, a number of passages in 3 Corinthians would have proved useful to those wishing to attack the 'preachers of evil' who 'pervert and despise [Christ's] words', v.2. There is a heavy emphasis on physical resurrection, condemning those 'who affirm that there is no resurrection of the flesh', v.34. The idea that Christ would 'deliver our flesh' and 'raise us from the dead', v.7, after saving 'this perishable flesh', which is then 'drawn into eternal life', v.24, challenges Manichean doctrines of non-bodily resurrection. Moreover, the assertion that absolution of sins is possible, v.15, can easily be directed against Manichean doubts concerning the efficacy of baptism. While the statement that the good God is the creator of the world, v.9, is a direct contradiction of Dualist cosmology.

Byron definitely drew parallels between the heresy condemned in these Epistles and Manichaeism. He questions whether Murray's reluctance to publish his translations is due to the Murray's fear over 'the Cant of the *Quarterly* about "Manichaeism"'.¹³¹

Manichaeism is probably the form of Dualism Byron was most familiar with.¹³² It is certainly the heretical label most commonly attached to him when he was 'abused as an infidel', particularly after the furore surrounding *Cain*.¹³³ Kennedy believed that Byron 'must have some erroneous opinion similar to that of some of the Manicheans' particularly 'with respect to the power of God over Satan, or the evil principle'.¹³⁴ Meanwhile attacks from critics such as Rev. Heber condemned Byron for displaying 'a strange predilection for the worser half of Manichaeism' in the character of Lucifer in *Cain*.¹³⁵ As Byron resignedly noted, 'I am prepared to be accused of Manichaeism or some other hard name ending in *ism*'.¹³⁶ Interestingly, Byron's critics then seem to have been equally ill informed as to the particulars of

¹³¹ BLJ VIII. 237. In an earlier letter, Byron asks why the 'Quartering Reviewers [...] accuse me of Manichaeism', BLJ VII.132.

¹³² *DJ* Canto VI.3.

¹³³ BLJ IV.119.

¹³⁴ Blessington, p.145.

¹³⁵ Heber, *Quarterly Review* (1820), in Rutherford, *Critical Heritage*, p. 236.

¹³⁶ Prologue, *Cain*.

Dualist heresies, as the Preface scornfully notes that those ‘liberal and pious’ detractors who label him a heretic ‘would be so much puzzled to explain the terms so bandied about’.

Bogomils, sprung from ‘those most godless Paulicians’¹³⁷

One of the most curious things about 3 Corinthians is that, despite being dropped from the canon in the seventh century coterminous with the decline of Manichaeism, it was only translated into Armenian in the eighth century.¹³⁸ One wonders why a discarded apocryphal text would suddenly have been dusted off and translated. However, the eighth century saw the rise of a new and particularly Armenian Dualist heresy, Paulicianism, whose members were also referred to as T’ondraki.¹³⁹ The threat of Paulicianism could explain the revival and translation of 3 Corinthians at this time. (See Map 6). The vast array of Armenian works attacking the Paulicians testifies to its popularity. The three most informative Armenian writers on the Paulicians are Gregory of Narek, Aristakses Lastiverc’i and Gregory Magistros.¹⁴⁰ Works by all of these authors are included in the section at the back of the *Grammar*, though they have not been translated into English. Neressian’s work on Armenian heresies describes an entry in the Armenian *Book of Canons* which attacks the ‘most wicked McInē sect who are called Polikeank’.¹⁴¹ Writers in the Byzantine Empire also mention the Paulicians. The most well know of these are probably Peter of Sicily and Anna Comnena.¹⁴² Both of these were used by Gibbon in his *Decline and Fall* which contains extensive mention of the Paulicians. There is also a large entry on

¹³⁷ Anna Comnena, *The Alexiad of Princess Anna Comnena*, trans. E. Dawes (London: Kegan, Paul, Trench & Trubner, 1928), p.384.

¹³⁸ St. Clair Tisdall, ‘Armenian versions of the Bible’.

¹³⁹ For information on the persecution of the Paulicians, see Stoyanov, pp.126, 150-151; H.F.B. Lynch, *Armenia: Travels and Studies* (Beirut: Khayat, 1965), pp.182-185; N. Garsoian, ‘Byzantine Heresy- a Reinterpretation’ in *Armenia Between Byzantium and the Sasanians*, pp.87-113. For more information on the Paulicians, see Obolensky, pp.20-43, 50-85, 112-114.

¹⁴⁰ For examples of anti-Paulician polemics, see Conybeare, pp.460-465; V. Neressian, p.35.

¹⁴¹ V. Neressian also discusses other variant names for the Paulicians, including ‘Pawlikean-k’, ‘Parutikean’ and *παυλικιανός*, pp.11-12.

¹⁴² Petros Sicullus’ work was *History of the empty and vain heresy of the Manichæans, otherwise called Paulicians* while Anna Comnena’s work was *The Alexiad*. Peter of Sicily was sent to live with the Paulicians for nine months as a peace negotiator. Anna Comnena was the daughter of the Byzantine Emperor. She wrote the *Alexiad* as a biography of his life in which she detailed his frequent conflicts with ‘the most godless Paulicians, an offshoot of the Manichean sect, founded as their name shows by Paul and John, two men who had imbibed the undiluted heresy of Manes and handed it on to their followers’. *The Alexiad of Princess Anna Comnena*, trans. E. Dawes (London: Kegan, Paul, Trench & Trubner, 1928), pp. 384, 412. Byron would have been aware of both historians as they are discussed by Voltaire, amongst others, in his *Dictionary*, in the entry for ‘Bulgarians’, III, pp.294-297. An appendix to *CHP II* refers to Anna Comnena’s *Alexiad* and discusses her writing style and the purity of her dialect, such knowledge could only come from reading her works.



Figure 56: The Massacre of the Paulicians at the orders of the Byzantine empress Theodora, in 844.²⁹

²⁹ This twelfth-century illustration is found in the Chronicle of John Skylitzes by an unknown author, digitized by the Madrid National Library.

‘Paulicianism’ in Bayle’s *Dictionary*. Although there are few relevant doctrinal developments unique to Paulician Dualism, it is still worth discussing here as it seems to have been the Dualism which most fascinated Bayle and Gibbon, judging by the size of entry on this topic. Certainly Byron was aware of Paulicianism as a distinct heresy separate from its predecessors, ‘I would rather be a Paulician, Manichean, Spinozoist, Gentile, Pythagorean, Zoroastrian’ he states in one letter.¹⁴³ It is interesting that Byron actually places Paulicianism first in the list, giving it an added importance perhaps. Moreover, unlike other Dualist heresies, Paulicianism seems to have still been active in Byron’s lifetime. Finally, more than any other heresy, Paulicianism explains the existence of 3 Corinthians and the Epistle from the Corinthians in Armenian in the San Lazaro library. After all, if these had not already been translated into Armenian, Byron would have been unable to translate them into English.

As Bayle notes at the close of his entry on Manicheans, Paulicianism is widely perceived as the more Christianised child of Manichaeism which ‘became formidable in Armenia’ in the ninth century. He also mentions how this ‘ancient heresy of the two principles prevails at this day in some of the Eastern countries’.¹⁴⁴ They were the last Dualist sect to practice radical Dualism with its equal opposing powers locked in issueless conflict. Like their Manichean predecessors, the Paulicians also adhered to a docetic Christology in which the incarnation was illusory and rejected baptism.¹⁴⁵ They perceived ‘eternal matter to be the seat and source of all evil’ and condemned sex and the begetting of children.¹⁴⁶ The tenth-century Armenian writer, Gregory of Narek, describes how members of this ‘obscene heresy’ refused to kill or give sacrifice to God, ‘cavilling at the first fruits which Abel and Noah and Abraham [...] appointed to conciliate the divine wrath’.¹⁴⁷ Gregory Magistros provides the reason for these beliefs arguing that ‘they hold Satan to be the creator of heaven and earth as well as the whole human race and all of creation’.¹⁴⁸ From these comments it can be seen that Paulicianism is a much more Christianised form of Dualism with its explicit

¹⁴³ BLJ II. 98.

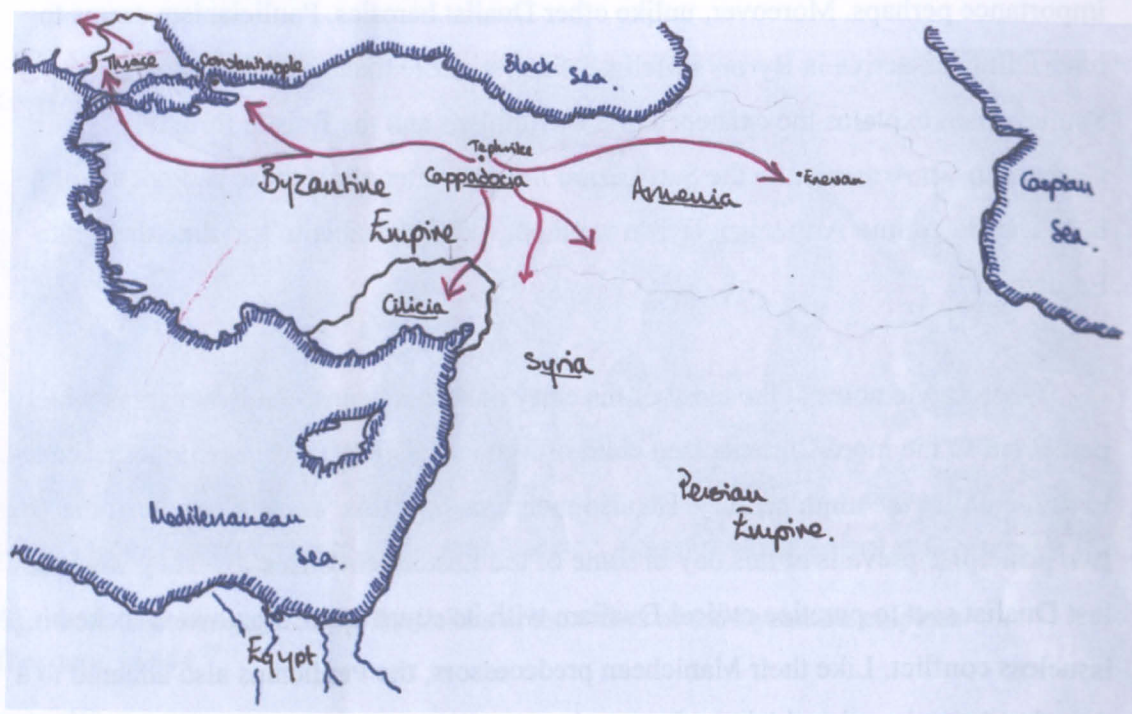
¹⁴⁴ *GHCD*, VII, ‘Manicheans’.

¹⁴⁵ Gregory of Narek, an Armenian historian, in Conybeare, p.453.

¹⁴⁶ J. Mosheim, *Ecclesiastical History Ancient and Modern*, 5 vols (London: The Michigan Historical Reprint Series, University of Michigan, 2008), III, pp.101-104.

¹⁴⁷ Gregory of Narek, an Armenian historian, in Conybeare, p.453.

¹⁴⁸ Gregory Magistros, cited in Conybeare, p.465.



Map 6: The Spread of Paulicianism.

denial of baptism and its perception of Satan as the Demiurge-Creator rather than an abstract Evil Principle or the Zoroastrian Ahrimanes. Paulicians placed a greater emphasis on the Bible, utilising a number of texts from the NT, particularly the Pauline Epistles, in support of their doctrines. Their doubt as to the true nature of the Creator-God of the OT is similar to Cain's doubts and refusal to sacrifice to evil in Byron's drama. The Paulicians perceived the existence of 'divine wrath' and desire for flesh to be proof of the Deity's diabolic nature – a suspicion also held by Byron's Cain.

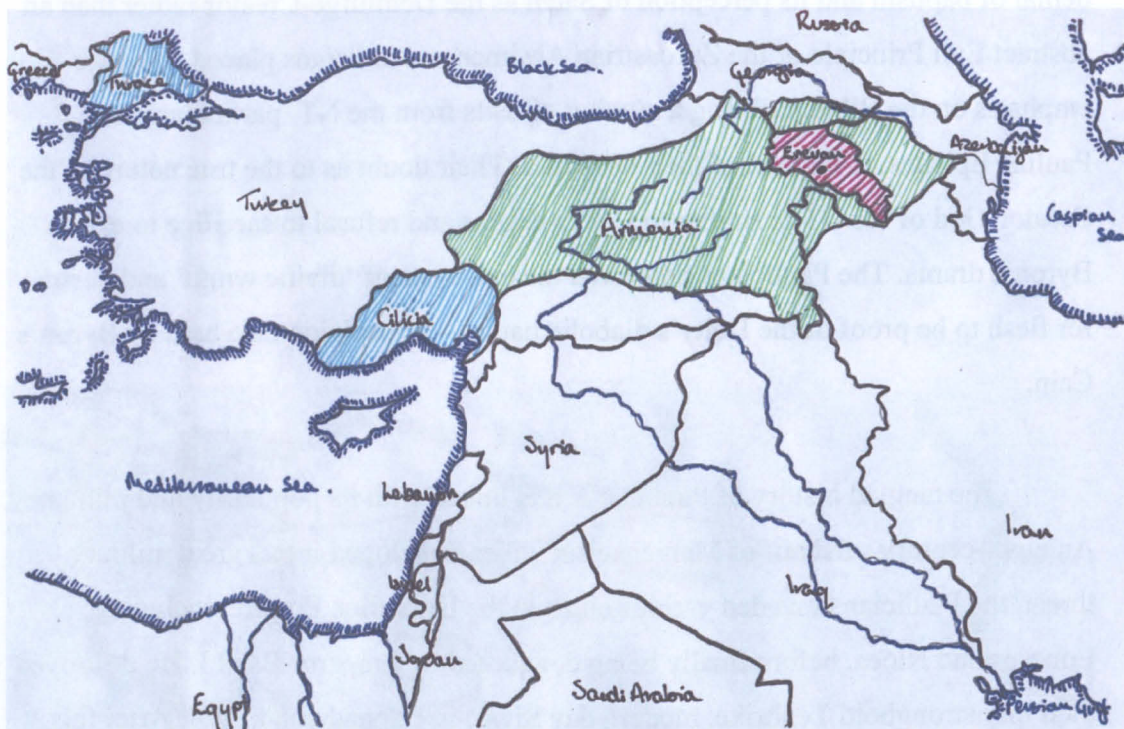
The tangled history of Paulicianism is linked with its popularity and militancy. An eight-century offshoot of Manichaeism which developed into a great military threat, the Paulicians invaded various cities in the Byzantine Empire, including Ephesus and Nicea, before finally being conquered by Emperor Basil I. He destroyed their city stronghold Tephrike, modern day Sivas, in Cappadocia in 879. After this, the Paulicians were shipped off to populate Thrace and act as a bulwark against the Bulgarian threat, where they were granted religious freedom in exchange for fighting.¹⁴⁹

It is hard to gain an accurate account of Paulician beliefs as all extant works are written by their enemies. However there appears to be one surviving Paulician text, *The Key of Truth*, discovered in modern day Armenia, near Erevan (see Maps 7 and 8) in 1837 by the Inquisition of the Armenian Church. The text was being used by a group of peasants in their daily worship. Translated by Conybeare at the end of the nineteenth century, it contains various similarities to the Cathar 'Book of Two Principles', discussed later.¹⁵⁰ Nersessian raises some doubts as to its provenance claiming that its grammatical purity makes it unlikely to have been the most recent in a long line of copies of an original Paulician text.¹⁵¹ Conybeare claimed that the purity of the grammar would have been impossible for an eighteenth-century peasant priest to create. Either way, the important fact is that there seems to have been an active offshoot of the Armenian Dualist heresy during Byron's own lifetime.

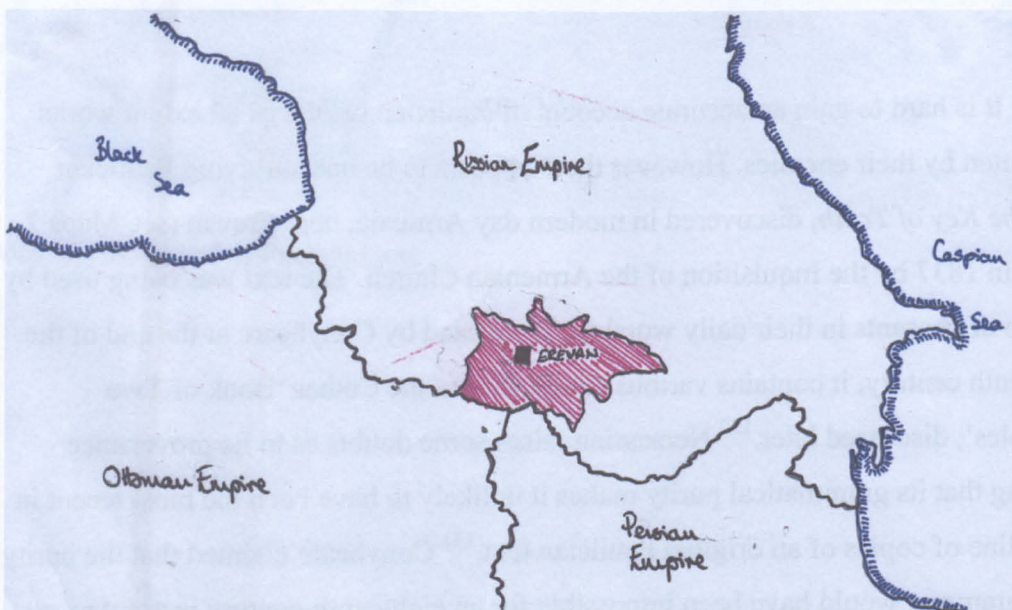
¹⁴⁹ For more details see *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. A.P. Kazhdan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 'Paulicians'.

¹⁵⁰ See F.C. Conybeare trans., *The Key of Truth: a Manual of the Paulician Church of Armenia* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1898).

¹⁵¹ Nersessian ed., Conybeare, *Armenian Church*, p.484.



Map 7: Transplanted Armenians



Map 8: Erevan and the Surrounding Lands.

It is hardly surprising that such a militant sect sent missionaries into the very Bulgarian lands they were supposed to be guarding against.¹⁵² Bayle's main entry mentions how the 'preachers who they sent into Bulgaria established the Manichean heresy in that country, from which it spread [...] into other parts of Europe'. He describes the travels and studies of Peter of Sicily, who was sent to the Paulicians in order to understand their beliefs, discovering that they were sending missionaries to Bulgaria. These missionaries were hugely successful and gave rise to Bogomilism in the tenth century, which proved to be an even greater threat to the Byzantine Empire and the Roman Church (See Map 9).¹⁵³ Anna Comnena's *Alexiad* describes Bogomilism as arising from:

Two very evil and worthless doctrines which have been known in former times now coalesced; [...] the Manichean [and] the Paulician heresy.¹⁵⁴

Although eventually rooted out by the Emperor and the monk Euthymius Zigabenus, whose *Dogmatic Panoplia* contains the most detailed account of Bogomil beliefs, the Bogomils had already spread across Byzantium and even infiltrated its aristocracy.

There are inevitably a number of similarities between Bogomilism and its Dualist predecessors. There are also a few differences that are worth discussing because of their presence in Byron's own Dualistic poetry, owing to the increasing presence of Christian concepts in this Dualist strain. Like Zurvanism, the Bogomils believed in a supreme power with two less powerful sons, one good and the other evil. However, unlike Zurvanism, the Bogomils utilised a Christian cosmology. Satanael was the elder son whose jealousy and refusal to bow to his father resulted in his banishment from the celestial heavens.¹⁵⁵ In the seven days he fell from heaven, Satanael created the world according to Genesis, he is therefore the OT Creator. However, Satanael was unable to animate his human creation, the life he breathed into Adam kept trickling out of his big toe (eventually forming the serpent). Satanael bargained with God who agreed to donate the souls to animate humanity. After

¹⁵² *GHCD*, VIII, 'Paulicians'.

¹⁵³ Cosmas the priest is the first of many to write attacking Bogomilism, though he interacted with its Bulgarian form led by the priest Bogomil, rather than its Byzantine form led by Basil and recorded by Euthymius Zogabenus in his *Dogmatic Panoply*.

¹⁵⁴ *Alexiad*, p.412.

¹⁵⁵ John the Exarch attacked the Bogomils as 'pagan slaves' who 'are not ashamed to call the devil the oldest son', cited in Obolensky, p.95.



Figure 57: Tephrike, or modern day Sivas, formerly the Paulician stronghold in the eighth-century before they were defeated and deported to Thrace.³⁰

³⁰ Photograph taken by Kasim Balicgiolu on request.

creating Eve, Satanael lay with her and conceived Cain and Abel. Mankind is therefore descended from Cain and Satanael. After this final transgression, he lost his heavenly form and divine powers, signified by the loss of the divine 'el' from his name. God had His second son, the good Christ, come to earth to redeem mankind.¹⁵⁶ In Bogomil doctrines Satan has evolved from his early undistinguished emergence in the OT, to become the 'personification of the adverse principle of evil'.¹⁵⁷ Bogomilism is even more explicit than earlier Dualisms about the fact that Satan created the material world to deliberately cloud the soul's awareness of its divine origin. Cosmas describes their belief that Satan 'has ordered men to take wives, to eat meat and drink wine' because 'all that is on the earth animate and inanimate' is 'of the Devil' and therefore corrupt.¹⁵⁸

This anti-cosmism resulted in extreme asceticism as all matter was evil. Therefore, in a similar fashion to the Manicheans, as noted by Augustine, the Bogomils 'avoid conception and generation' as they feared that new 'divine particles' would be 'locked up in fleshly chains' in their 'offspring'.¹⁵⁹ In fact one of the best descriptions of this doctrine can be found in *Cain* where Byron's Lucifer warns Cain that:

the very best
Of thine enjoyments a sweet degradation,
A most enervating and filthy cheat
To lure thee on to the renewal of
Fresh souls and bodies, all foredoom'd.¹⁶⁰

Lucifer's argument that the pleasure of sex is deliberately contrived to cloud the mind to the fact that 'fresh souls' are being trapped is extremely Dualistic. As with Paulicianism, Bogomilism is far more Christianised than Gnosticism and Manichaeism. Unlike Paulicianism, this does not stem from an emphasis on the Pauline Epistles, but from the use of a more Christian cosmology with especial emphasis on exegesis of the Genesis narrative and the Gospel of John, used in their initiation rituals.

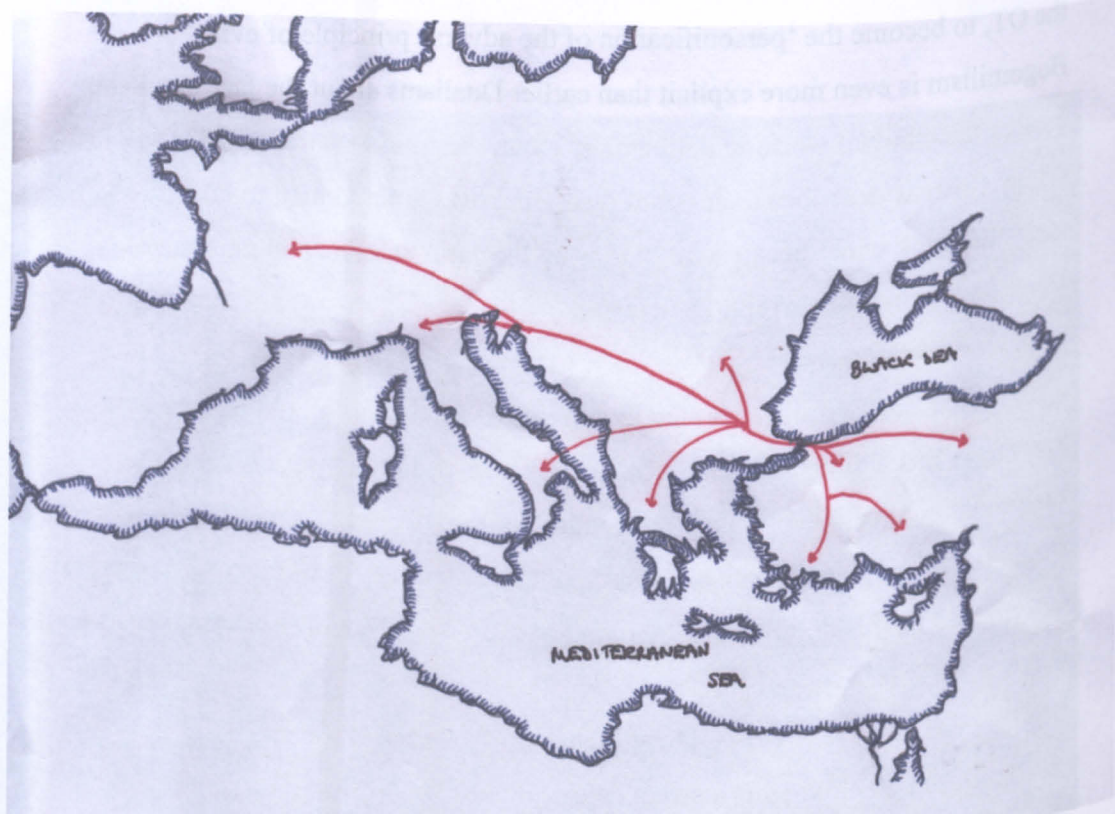
¹⁵⁶ Euthymius Zigabenus, *Dogmatic Panoply*, cited in S. Runciman, *Medieval Manichee, a Study of the Christian Dualist Heresy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960), pp.70-77.

¹⁵⁷ Werblowsky, *Lucifer and Prometheus*, p.x.

¹⁵⁸ Obolensky, pp.123, 207-8, 214.

¹⁵⁹ Augustine, *De Haeresibus* 117, in *GHCD*, VII, 'Manicheans', Note B.

¹⁶⁰ *Cain* II.i.55-59.



Map 9: The Spread of Bogomilism.

Catharism, the Great Heresy

Gnostic doctrines and Zoroastrianism were used to formulate Manichean cosmology which in turn inspired Paulicianism. The exiled Paulicians sent missionaries into Bulgaria, competing with the Orthodox and Roman Churches to win converts. Their Dualist teachings combined with pagan Slav beliefs gave rise to Bogomilism. This heresy spread across the Byzantine Empire to the heart of Constantinople itself. Bogomil Dualism did not stop there. The Bogomils sent missionaries to the West, both travelling themselves and converting merchants and returning Crusaders. This influx of Dualists in medieval Western Europe inspired what has been called the Great Heresy, the greatest heretical threat to the Roman Church. Arguably this Dualist heresy is the first to have challenged the Church in the West and it is a testament to the authority of Augustine that it was instantly recognised as a Manichean offshoot. This heresy is Catharism, also known as Albigensianism after the brutal massacre of its adherents in the twelfth century in the Cathar town of Albi in Southern France in the only crusade to occur within Europe.

There were a number of sources on Catharism available to Byron. This is partly because it was still active until the fourteenth century and partly because, as will be shown later, the Reformation was strongly identified with the Cathar heresy even in Byron's day. Voltaire and Bayle have entries on the Cathars.¹⁶¹ Dante and Milton were both aware of Catharism.¹⁶² Spread across southern France, Piedmont, the Languedoc, Italian cities such as Milan, Verona, Venice and Florence, along with Sicily and Rheims, Catharism was firmly entrenched by the thirteenth century.¹⁶³ Despite widespread persecutions, including torture and execution, (popularised in the film *Name of the Rose*) it was not until the mid-fourteenth century that the Inquisition, led by Jacques Fournier (future Pope Benôit XII) finally stamped out Catharism.¹⁶⁴ Two other sources are the Albigensian histories by Peter Allix, who not only has an entry in Bayle,¹⁶⁵ but was also republished in 1821,¹⁶⁶ and the Albigensian history by

¹⁶¹ *Phil. Dic.*, XIV, pp.170-179.

¹⁶² Dante's links with Catharism are frequently alluded to by Weiss, *Yellow Cross*, pp.2, 44, 144, 154, and Milton's links will be discussed later.

¹⁶³ G. Leff, *Heresy in the Later Middle Ages*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1967); M. Lambert, *Medieval Heresy: Popular Movement from the Gregorian Reform to the Reformation* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 3rd ed. 2002); *The Cathars* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1998),

¹⁶⁴ For details of this time, see Weiss, *Yellow Cross*.

¹⁶⁵ *GHCD*, II, 'Peter Allix'.

Thomas Taylor.¹⁶⁷ Taylor was a close friend of Peacock and an acquaintance of Shelley, who seems to have read most of his works. It is therefore quite possible that Byron would have come across Taylor's book on the Albigensian heresy, particularly given he had read his other works.¹⁶⁸ Byron also discussed the presentation of Catharism by the ever-useful Gibbon with Kennedy in Cephalonia.¹⁶⁹

A heresy that was influenced by earlier doctrines, Catharism is similar to its Dualist predecessors and luckily there are a number of extant primary sources ranging from confessions and works by converts to monks' polemics and most importantly, a number of genuine Cathar treatises. As with all Dualist sects, Cathars believed there were 'two principles of things'. One is God, the 'principle of light [...] from whom are spiritual things'. The other, 'the principle of darkness, Lucifer, is he from whom are temporal things'.¹⁷⁰ Cathars believe that the OT is false and reveals the true nature of the evil Creator who made the world and Adam, trapping souls in 'fleshly robes' which were 'born of corruption'.¹⁷¹ Believing that man has 'a spiritual origin in a carnal body', the Cathars denied physical resurrection, teaching that Christ 'did not come to wash the filth of the flesh' but to 'cleanse the filth of God's souls that have been soiled by contact with evil'.¹⁷² They believed this evil to be Satan and the Church. In a confession, Jacques Authie, one of the last Cathars,¹⁷³ describes the Cathar conviction that 'Satan created an imitation' of the 'letters' of the 'Son of God'. This imitation is 'false, evil and unreliable, and it is this that the Church of Rome holds to'.¹⁷⁴ A text written between 1150 and 1200 describes how:

The common belief of all Cathars is that all things recounted in Genesis – namely about the flood, the deliverance of Noah, God's speaking to Abraham, the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah – were done by the devil.

¹⁶⁶ P. Allix, *Some Remarks Upon the Ecclesiastical History of the Ancient Churches of Piedmont* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1821).

¹⁶⁷ T. Taylor, *The History of the Waldenses and Albigenses, who Begun the Reformation in the Vallies of Piedmont and Various other Places, Several Hundred Years Before Luther* (Bolton: J. Higham, 1793).

¹⁶⁸ BLJ V.74, 80. In particular his translation of Iamblichus' *Mysteries of the Assyrians and Chaldeans* as proven by Twitchell in 'The Supernatural Structure of Byron's *Manfred*', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 15, (1975), pp. 601-614; P. Cochrane, '*Manfred and Thomas Taylor*', *BJ*, 29, (2001), pp. 62-71.

¹⁶⁹ Kennedy, p.104.

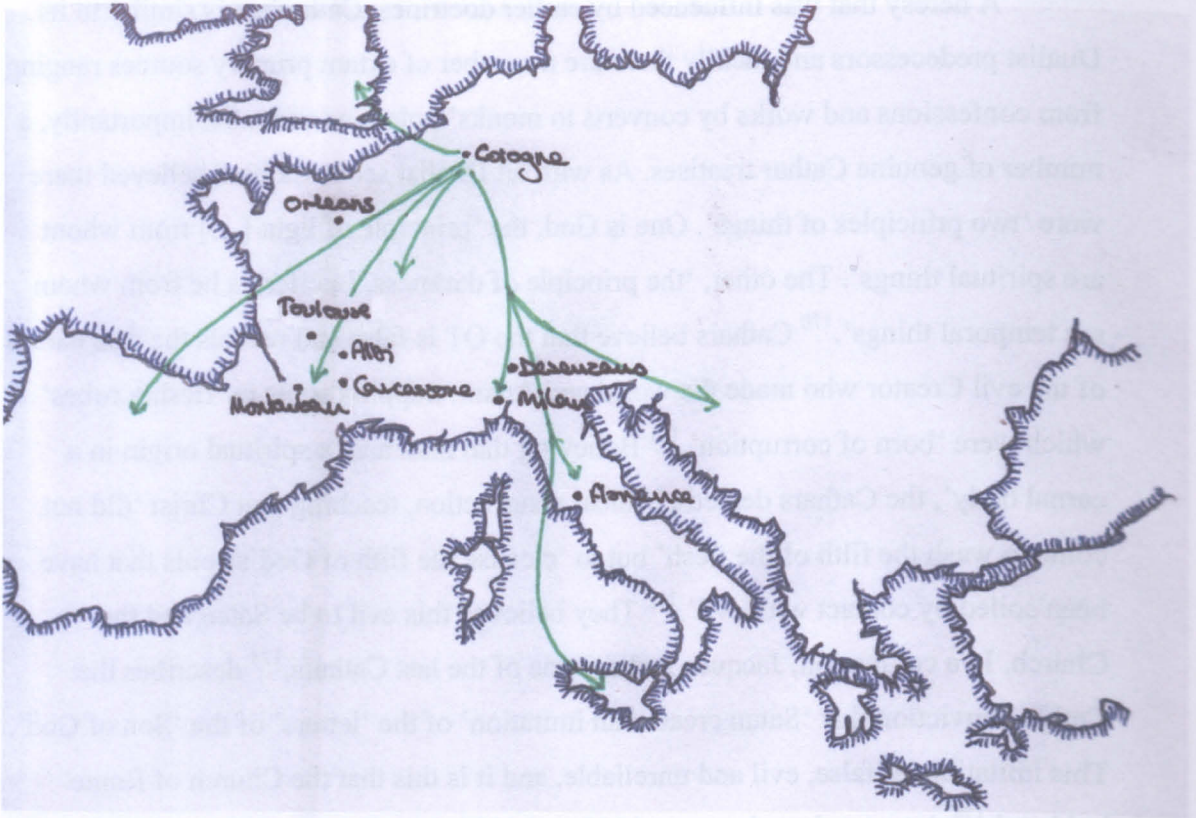
¹⁷⁰ Alan of Lille, 'A Scholar's Attack on Heretics', Wakefield and Evans, pp.248-9.

¹⁷¹ *Vision of Isaiah*, Wakefield and Evans, pp.452-453.

¹⁷² *Interregatio Johannis*, Wakefield and Evans, p.461, Cathar Ritual, p.475.

¹⁷³ Weiss describes his life and eventual death in throughout *Yellow Cross*.

¹⁷⁴ Holroyd, *Gnosticism*, p.90.



Map 10: The Spread of Catharism

Not only this, but all the prophets were also sent by Satan, particularly those who 'caused the blood of animals to be offered unto him, so that he might be honoured as God'.¹⁷⁵ Incidentally, this perception of the Catholic Church is remarkably akin to that expressed by Mary Shelley in 'Bride of Modern Italy', quoted in Chapter One. She also mentions the falseness of the Catholic Church which crushes the innate good by creating a false one in its place. This can be perceived as further proof of the influence of Volney's *Ruins* which promotes Zoroastrianism as the perfect uncorrupted religion.

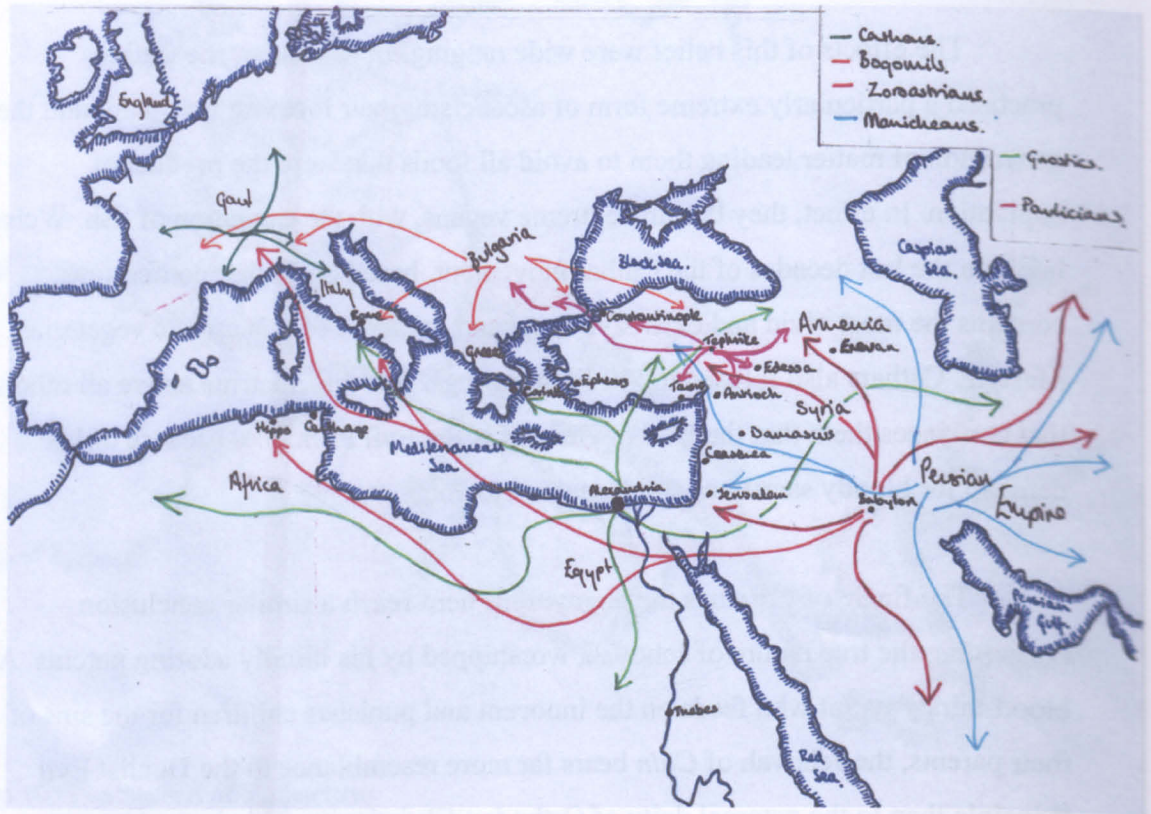
The effects of this belief were wide ranging. In particular, the Cathars practised a particularly extreme form of asceticism; their loathing for matter and the generation of matter leading them to avoid all foods that were the product of copulation. In effect, they became extreme vegans, with the exception of fish. Weiss' book on the last decades of the Cathar movement, based on Cathar confessions, contains the most vivid and extensive first hand evidence of this ascetic vegetarian lifestyle. Cathars also refused to kill living beings. It is this doctrine above all others that convinces them that the God of Genesis is the Evil Principle, because of his demand for bloody sacrifices and frequent violence.

The finale of *Cain* has the eponymous hero reach a similar conclusion concerning the true nature of Jehovah, worshipped by his blindly adoring parents. A blood-thirsty tyrant who feeds on the innocent and punishes children for the sins of their parents, the Jehovah of *Cain* bears far more resemblance to the Dualist Evil Principle than to the paternal deity of Orthodox Christianity. This is doubly interesting given that a number of Dualist myths hold that the Evil Principle fathered Jehovah and Elohim (the names of God in the OT) on Eve. Thus Byron's use of that name gains new implications for the Being who demands 'the blood of animals' so that he 'might be honoured as God'.¹⁷⁶ Certainly Byron seems to have held similar views concerning the 'Jehovah of the Jews', arguing that the true God 'never made anything to be tortured'.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁵ Wakefield and Evans, p.166. Similar views can be found in the confessions of Bonacursus, the anti-Cathar polemics of Peter of Vaux-de-Cernay, and the Cathar 'Book of Two Principles', pp.171-2, 237, 550-560.

¹⁷⁶ Wakefield and Evans, p.166.

¹⁷⁷ BLJ VIII.53; II.98.



Map 11: The Dissemination of Dualism Across Europe and Asia Minor.

Conclusion: ‘there is something Pagan in me’¹⁷⁸

Byron seems to have been ineluctably drawn to Dualism. This was due to his reluctant conviction that ‘the world was neither created nor governed by the goodness of God’.¹⁷⁹ Although this quotation is taken from Bayle’s *Dictionary*, it is similar to the conclusions drawn by Byron’s Cain. It is interesting that these two authors, both known for their ‘infidelity’, should not only have similar conclusions concerning the origin and ordering of the world but also place such emphasis on Dualism as a means of explaining evil. At the same time, it must be remembered that Byron was not necessarily a Dualist, though he was drawn to its doctrines. These would have explained his own doubts concerning the God of Calvinism who predestined mankind to damnation before the foundation of the world. It was not so much that Byron was a true believer in Dualism as that he refused to be a Calvinist and searched for alternative, more palatable philosophies. In a letter to Hodgson recently sold at Sotheby’s, Byron emphatically states that:

I would sooner be a Paulician, Manichean, Spinozist, Gentile, Pyrrhonian, Zoroastrian than one of the seventy-two villainous sects who are tearing each other to pieces for love of the Lord and hatred of each other.¹⁸⁰

The fact that Byron places three separate Dualist sects before Calvinism is interesting, and supports the above statement concerning his approbation of Dualism. The reference to the numerous branches of Scottish Calvinism as ‘villainous’ is a convincing testament of Byron’s loathing for the hypocrisy and ‘credulous intolerance’ of Calvinists.¹⁸¹ Dualism with its Evil OT Creator and notions of cyclical dominion provided the perfect explanation for the ‘inscrutable’ doctrines preached and practised by ‘fools and imposters’.¹⁸²

Byron’s fascination with Eastern history, culture and religions can be viewed as a development of the prevailing Romantic interest in classical antiquity, examined by Sachs with particular emphasis on Keats, Shelley and the Roman Empire.¹⁸³ However, arguably Shelley, Peacock, Moore and many of the other Romantics were

¹⁷⁸ BLJ II.136.

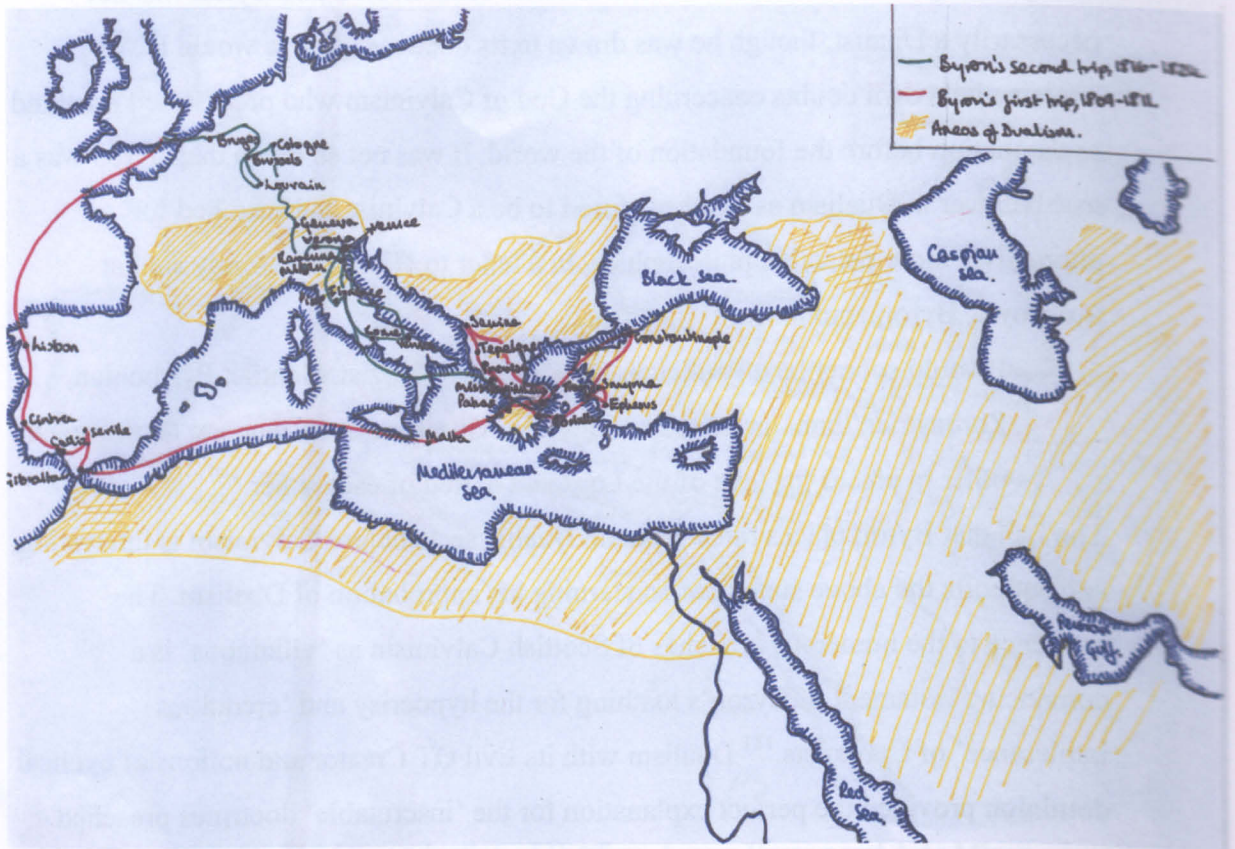
¹⁷⁹ *GHCD*, I, ‘Abel’.

¹⁸⁰ BLJ II.89.

¹⁸¹ BLJ IV.60.

¹⁸² BLJ IX.45; I.114.

¹⁸³ J. Sachs, *Romantic Antiquity: Rome in the British imagination, 1789-1832* (New York: OUP, 2010).



Map 12: Dualism and Byron's Travels.

equally interested in Eastern Dualism. Incidentally, his time in Venice on the Adriatic coast would have reinforced Byron's interest in the East – this line of coast has always been culturally closer to Constantinople than Rome, despite the distances, as can be seen by the large Armenian community, and the presence of a number of Byzantine relics, such as the beautiful Byzantine mosaics which still survive in the Ravenna Churches.

However, Byron's use of Dualism is far more detailed and consistent than that of his contemporaries and, as will be shown, used in a more deliberate manner for a specific purpose. This aim led Byron to read Bayle, Gibbon, Taylor, Voltaire, Beausobre and countless others in his pursuit of information about Eastern religions. More importantly, it arguably led him to translate ancient Armenian texts in the Venetian monastery, instead of more modern works. This curious choice could be interpreted as proof of his growing interest in Dualism, as Cochrane sought to prove in Byron's choice of Eznik's excerpt. Alternatively, one could hypothesise that Aucher, 'a learned pious soul', had become aware of Byron's fascination with Dualism and, deeming it dangerous, had chosen the Epistles with their refutation of Dualism in order to avert his pupil's heretical tendencies.¹⁸⁴ Unfortunately this is pure speculation, but it is an appealing possibility nonetheless.

Finally, Byron's travels took him all over Europe and parts of Asia Minor. If one looks at Map 11, one can see that the majority of the Dualisms overlap and there are a number of hotspots for the heresy. Byron's extensive journeying took him to many of these places, as Map 12 shows. Although not a concrete proof of influence, it is nevertheless unlikely that Byron, given his love of history and distaste for Christianity, would not have been curious about those earlier faiths and provides an interesting addendum to this Chapter.

¹⁸⁴ BLJ V.152.

SECTION TWO: 'They have stamped me an infidel'¹

Such harmony is in the immortal souls

But, whilst this muddy vesture of decay

Doth grossly close it in, we cannot hear it.

Shakespeare, *The Merchant of Venice*.²

'I am prepared to be accused of Manichaeism'³

Written in the Prologue to *Cain*, this epigraph shows that Byron was perfectly aware of the presence of Dualism in his poetry – the denigration of the body, veneration of the soul, depictions of an evil Creator-God and a pronounced asceticism represent his utilisation and adaptation of heretical teachings, which he acknowledges here.

Considering that Byron's use of Dualist doctrines runs rife throughout his works, the neglect of a detailed analysis of the presence of Dualism is regrettable. A closer look at various poems, tracing the influence of Dualism, will allow a new level of understanding of works such as *Sardanapalus* and *Childe Harold* Cantos I, III and IV, not to mention a more in-depth analysis of the specific use of Dualism in *Cain* and *Manfred*.

As in much of Byron's poetry, this Section's epigraph is taken from one of Shakespeare's plays.⁴ The quotation provides an intriguing opening, not only exhibiting various aspects of Dualist theology and imagery, but also providing an example of the knowledge of Dualism during the Elizabethan period. The very fact that Shakespeare's play contains such an explicit expression of Dualistic themes calls attention to their prevalence. It is arguable that Shakespeare, much read and often quoted by Byron, could be perceived as yet another source of Dualistic imagery, a source moreover that actually integrates these heretical motifs into literature. Shakespeare was not the only writer known to Byron to allude to Dualist concepts. Marlowe's plays are equally if not more saturated with Dualism particularly

¹ Kennedy, p. 117.

² V.i.63-65.

³ Prologue, *Cain*.

⁴ For more on Byron and Shakespeare see A. Barton, 'Byron and Shakespeare', *The Cambridge Companion to Byron*, ed. D. Bone (Cambridge University Press, 2004); along with Appendix 2, numbers 221 and 226; Appendix 3, numbers 282 and 284; *Manfred*, *Beppo* and *DJ* VI-VIII all use Shakespearean epigraphs.



Figure 58: View of the four parts of the Palazzo Mocenigo from the Grand Canal.
Byron's home was the second from the left, with the small plaque.

Tamburlaine, as shown in Moore's extensive examination of Gnosticism in the play.⁵ Arguably he should also have looked for Manichean influences as it is just as likely that Marlowe would have studied Augustine on Manichaeism while at Cambridge, as Irenaeus on Gnosticism. Moore briefly alludes to the influence of the *Corpus Hermeticum* on Marlowe's *Dr Faustus*, linking the eponymous anti-hero with the Gnostic leader Simon Magus.⁶ The character of Faustus is also derived from Augustine's Manichean opponent of the same name, possibly an indication of Marlowe's awareness of Manichaeism.⁷

Both *Tamburlaine* and the above epigraph exhibit a Dualistic disgust for the corporeal form and veneration of the soul. Tamburlaine yearns for release from his body and assumption into the celestial realms as a spirit. He endures his earthly existence until his 'soule' is 'dissevered from this flesh',⁸ and can 'soar above the highest earth'.⁹ This anti-somatism causes him to reject everyone around him, including his son Calyphas, as mere 'lumps of clay', formed 'of the massy dregges of earth, / The scum and tartar of the elements'.¹⁰ The word 'dissevered' intimates a violent separation, necessary perhaps because the weight of the flesh forms such a strong, heavy prison that only force can release the soul. The word 'massy' expresses a sense of the human body as a massive, cumbersome burden. Marlowe graphically expresses a Dualist anti-somatism through his use of the word 'dregges'. The word presents clay as coming from the very bottom of the barrel with the scummy impurities that have sunk to form a layer of sludge. It is a very striking image of the Dualistic revulsion for matter. The epigraph from *The Merchant of Venice* is equally compelling. The 'immortal souls' are imprisoned in the mortal, 'muddy' bodies of 'decay'. The use of 'vesture' can be linked to the peculiarly Dualist concept of the body as clothing, a tunic of flesh made by Satan to trap and blind the soul. The reference to a 'harmony' that cannot be heard when the soul is 'grossly' trapped in the

⁵ R.E. Moore, 'The Spirit and the Letter: Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* and Elizabethan Religious Radicalism', *Studies in Philology*, 9, (2002), pp.123-152.

⁶ Moore, pp.127-130; Nuttall's *Alternative Trinity* also examines the Gnostic influences on *Faustus*, pp. 22-70.

⁷ In particular, Augustine's work *Contra Faustum* is supposedly based on a long argument in correspondence between the two figures, each supporting their respective faiths. It is included in Augustine's *Morals of the Manicheans*, a comprehensive compilation of all 15 of Augustine's anti-Manichean works.

⁸ 2 *Tamburlaine* IV.iii.131, also 60-61.

⁹ 2 *Tamburlaine* II.vii.44.

¹⁰ 2 *Tamburlaine* IV.i.122-128.

body is an extension of the Dualist concept of the mortal world as a prison using illusion to blind its inmates until they receive the illuminating light of *gnosis*. Like Byron,¹¹ Marlowe was frequently accused of Atheism, despite the strongly Calvinist tenor of much of his work.¹² Byron was aware of *Tamburlaine* and its historical background.¹³ Moreover he frequently refers to *The Merchant of Venice* in his poems and letters.¹⁴ Sadly, fascinating though it would be, there is no space here to examine the Gnostic-Manichean influences in the Shakespearian canon and Elizabethan literature in general. However, these examples show there are sources of Dualist information available to Byron in English literature as well as religious and historical works. Admittedly, he would have to be aware of Dualism already in order to recognise its presence here. This Section will look at the various ways in which Byron, like Shakespeare and Marlowe, expresses basic Dualist tenets in his poetry.

Half Dust, Half Deity¹⁵

Byron writes of the 'Soul which drags a Carcase; a heavy chain to be sure; but all chains, being material, may be shaken off'.¹⁶ The notion of the body as mere dead meat, a rotting slab chained to the soul rather like Bonnivard is chained to his brother's corpse in *The Prisoner of Chillon*, is an emotive image.¹⁷ The soul is explicitly contrasted to the body; diametric opposites united in humanity. The soul is not simply twinned with the body, but trapped within it. The decomposing flesh, Shakespeare's 'vesture of decay', is 'a heavy chain' imprisoning the soul.¹⁸ Yet the fetters of the body are 'material' and therefore mortal. They can be escaped upon death, when the soul is released from its clay shackles. This quotation summarises the various topics considered now: the negative perception of the body, the body imprisoning the soul and the Dualist belief in the soul's divinity. The quotation was

¹¹ BLJ V. 40, 51, 81.

¹² R.S. Knox discusses this in his introduction to Marlowe's *The Tragical History of Doctor Faustus*, ed. R.S. Knox, (London: Methuen & Co, 1924). See also R. Ornstein, 'Marlowe and God: The Tragic Theology of Doctor Faustus', *PMLA*, 83, (1968) which discusses how, again as with Byron, 'evidence of Marlowe's atheism' is now doubted due to the orthodoxy of his works, p.1378.

¹³ BLJ I.216 quotes *Tamburlaine* and in the *Deformed Transformed* there is a mention of 'Timur the lame' (l. 323), the historical figure on whom Marlowe based *Tamburlaine*; E.H. Coleridge notes that Byron would certainly have at least read excerpts of *Tamburlaine* in Lamb's *Specimens of English dramatic Poets*. He would also have come across excerpts from Marlowe in T. Campbell's *Specimens of British Poets*, II, pp.160-162.

¹⁴ BLJ VIII.28, 229; BLJ X.160, 169; *CHP* IV.4.33; *Age of Bronze* 15.

¹⁵ *Manfred* I.ii.40.

¹⁶ BLJ IX.45.

¹⁷ 'When my last brother droop'd and died, / And I lay living by his side', st.2, ll.46-47.

¹⁸ A similar image can be found in *CHP* III.72.684 which refers to the 'fleshly chain' of life.



Figure 59: Illustration for the *Prisoner of Chillon*, after Ford Maddox Brown, 1857.³¹

³¹ From the British Museum.

body is an extension of the Dualist concept of the mortal world as a prison using illusion to blind its inmates until they receive the illuminating light of *gnosis*. Like Byron,¹¹ Marlowe was frequently accused of Atheism, despite the strongly Calvinist tenor of much of his work.¹² Byron was aware of *Tamburlaine* and its historical background.¹³ Moreover he frequently refers to *The Merchant of Venice* in his poems and letters.¹⁴ Sadly, fascinating though it would be, there is no space here to examine the Gnostic-Manichean influences in the Shakespearian canon and Elizabethan literature in general. However, these examples show there are sources of Dualist information available to Byron in English literature as well as religious and historical works. Admittedly, he would have to be aware of Dualism already in order to recognise its presence here. This Section will look at the various ways in which Byron, like Shakespeare and Marlowe, expresses basic Dualist tenets in his poetry.

Half Dust, Half Deity¹⁵

Byron writes of the 'Soul which drags a Carcase; a heavy chain to be sure; but all chains, being material, may be shaken off'.¹⁶ The notion of the body as mere dead meat, a rotting slab chained to the soul rather like Bonnivard is chained to his brother's corpse in *The Prisoner of Chillon*, is an emotive image.¹⁷ The soul is explicitly contrasted to the body; diametric opposites united in humanity. The soul is not simply twinned with the body, but trapped within it. The decomposing flesh, Shakespeare's 'vesture of decay', is 'a heavy chain' imprisoning the soul.¹⁸ Yet the fetters of the body are 'material' and therefore mortal. They can be escaped upon death, when the soul is released from its clay shackles. This quotation summarises the various topics considered now: the negative perception of the body, the body imprisoning the soul and the Dualist belief in the soul's divinity. The quotation was

¹¹ BLJ V. 40, 51, 81.

¹² R.S. Knox discusses this in his introduction to Marlowe's *The Tragical History of Doctor Faustus*, ed. R.S. Knox, (London: Methuen & Co, 1924). See also R. Ornstein, 'Marlowe and God: The Tragic Theology of Doctor Faustus', *PMLA*, 83, (1968) which discusses how, again as with Byron, 'evidence of Marlowe's atheism' is now doubted due to the orthodoxy of his works, p.1378.

¹³ BLJ I.216 quotes *Tamburlaine* and in the *Deformed Transformed* there is a mention of 'Timur the lame' (l. 323), the historical figure on whom Marlowe based *Tamburlaine*; E.H. Coleridge notes that Byron would certainly have at least read excerpts of *Tamburlaine* in Lamb's *Specimens of English dramatic Poets*. He would also have come across excerpts from Marlowe in T. Campbell's *Specimens of British Poets*, II, pp.160-162.

¹⁴ BLJ VIII.28, 229; BLJ X.160, 169; *CHP* IV.4.33; *Age of Bronze* 15.

¹⁵ *Manfred* I.ii.40.

¹⁶ BLJ IX.45.

¹⁷ 'When my last brother droop'd and died, / And I lay living by his side', st.2, ll.46-47.

¹⁸ A similar image can be found in *CHP* III.72.684 which refers to the 'fleshy chain' of life.

written during one of Byron's bouts of despairing depression. It is curious that during his worst periods of Religious Despair, Byron seems to have written some of his most heavily Dualistic poetry. Oates' book on modern factors in mental-illness claims that 'flesh-spirit conflicts', when there are 'exaggerated contradictory feelings' between 'the carnal man and the spiritual man', increase religiously induced depression.¹⁹ This would indicate that the stronger Byron's Calvinist fear of damnation, the more he identified with Dualist doctrines concerning the conflict between body and soul, 'Mortal' and 'Spirit'.²⁰ In effect, his Religious Despair would render Dualist doctrines more attractive.

The concept of the soul being freed by death can also be found in *Childe Harold* Canto III which describes the joy of the mind liberated from 'what it hates in this degraded form' after it has been 'reft of its carnal life'.²¹ The notion of the human body as degraded hints at the narrator's anti-somatism and is a far cry from the supposed divine origin of Man formed in God's image.²² This is reinforced by the description of mortal life, God's greatest gift, as 'carnal'. The term belittles human existence, stripping it of glory and civilisation, making humans seem little more than rutting beasts living a hedonistic existence geared towards the fulfilment of their animalistic needs. The emphasis on 'carnal life' implies that there is another, non-carnal existence that is superior to that endured on this earthly plane. There are marked parallels between passages such as these and the Dualist texts examined in Section One and Chapter Three.

Byron's Dualist anti-somatism is frequently expressed across his poetical *oeuvre*. One motif which is particularly prevalent, and characteristic of Dualists, is that of the body as dust or clay.²³ In *The Giaour* the body is 'nought but breathing clay', a dismissive description reducing the creation of the complex human form to a mere parlour trick, the body as a sort of animated clay puppet.²⁴ Clay is a particularly emotive idiom for the human body as the substance itself is so unappealing with its

¹⁹ *Religious Factors in Mental Illness* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1957), pp.8.

²⁰ *Cain* I.i.98.

²¹ *St.*73, ll.692-697.

²² A similar expression of the limitation of mortal man can be found in *CHP* IV.93.829-831.

²³ In fact there are at least 80 occasions where clay is used as a negative name for the human body in his poetical works.

²⁴ *The Giaour* 1.481.

stodgy, sticky texture, grey colour and unappetising smell. Metaphors likening clay to the body denote its worthlessness. Lucifer frequently mocks Cain for being clay, dismissing mankind as ‘worms in clay’ – a particularly repellent image showing Lucifer’s sense of superiority over the pallid wriggling flesh of God’s earthly creations.²⁵ The limitations of these ‘worms’ are emphasised a few lines later when Lucifer rounds on Cain and condemns him for his aspirations, sneering ‘thou art clay – and canst but comprehend / That which was clay’.²⁶ In *The Two Foscari* Byron describes the human form:

All is low
And false, and hollow - clay from first to last,
The Prince’s urn no less than potter’s vessel.²⁷

The passage finishes with the statement that because of the meanness of form ‘we are all slaves’. Byron not only utilises the standard Dualist clay imagery but also describes the body as a container. This could be read as showing a deeper understanding of the religious arguments concerning the body as imprisoning the soul. Moreover, no matter how fine the ornamentation on the pots, nor how graceful the shape, the essential matter is still dirt. The reference to ‘false’ implies that the body deceives, while the word ‘hollow’ could not only apply to the containment of the soul but also be a reiteration of the shallowness and deceit of the body.

Dust is another frequent metaphor for the body in Dualist texts and Byron’s poetry alike. The word has implicit connotations of death and is also considered worthless. In the poem ‘From Job’, from *Hebrew Melodies*, humans are derided as mere ‘Creatures of clay! vain dwellers in the dust!’²⁸ The double alliteration strengthens the scornful tone and focuses attention on the ignominious materials which Man is formed from and lives in. The sneering superiority of the speaker (a spiritual Being) is indicated by the repeated exclamation marks and the use of the word ‘vain’, which can be interpreted as referring to the futile ambitions of humanity or to the fact that their existence is finite and fleeting. This latter interpretation is reinforced by a subsequent line referring to people as ‘Things of a day!’ who ‘wither

²⁵ II.i.85; I.i.123.

²⁶ II.i.164-5. Ode to Napoleon Bonaparte’, ‘When Coldness wraps this Suffering Clay’, *Heaven and Earth* and *Manfred* also utilise the clay-motif to disparage the human body and the material world in general. In particular, *HE* I.i.16, 18, 23, 97-99.

²⁷ *The Two Foscari* II.i.90-92.

²⁸ ‘From Job’ St. 2.

ere the night', implying that our three score and ten years are as a single day to a Spirit or God, likening humans to caddis-flies, born from mud and dying within a matter of hours. The loathing for material existence is markedly similar to those opinions expressed in Dualist texts discussed elsewhere. Inevitably there are also a number of biblical parallels with these lines, which is only to be expected given they are part of Byron's most explicitly Orthodox collection of poems and based on Scripture passages. However, at the same time, this reinforces the argument for the existence of parallels between scriptural texts and Dualist doctrines, which allowed Dualists to use biblical material in their own liturgies supporting their own beliefs.

The reason Cain is so angered by his limitations is because they serve to demonstrate the unattainability of his spiritual aspirations, never realised because his soul is trapped in the 'dull mass of life'.²⁹ Here again is the sense of dense weight, of life as an interminable punishment dragged around like a ball-and-chain. This striking image creates a pronounced contrast with the Christian view of life as a gift from God. There are three main themes concerning the flesh as a prison; the body as clothing,³⁰ the soul as a caged bird and the body as an actual jail, chains and all.³¹

In *Childe Harold* the clay of the 'earth born jars' deliberately seeks to 'sink' the soul's 'spark immortal':

envying it the light

To which it mounts as if to break the link

That keeps us from yon heaven.³²

The active participation of 'this clay' in trapping the soul is shown by the words 'will sink' and 'envying' which present the clay as a sentient entity, which chooses to confine the immortal light through its own spiteful malice. This tallies with Dualist teachings presenting the body as the construct and tool of the Evil Principle. The words 'sink' and 'mounts' combine to convey a sense of thwarted flight. This idea is reinforced by the next stanza which describes the trapped soul as 'a wild-born falcon with clipt wing'. The anguish suffered by this 'barr'd-up bird' causes it to flail against

²⁹ II.ii.20

³⁰ In DT the Stranger describes Arnold's discarded body as an 'abandoned garment' which is 'not dead but soul-less', I.ii.424, 453.

³¹ DJ X.23.

³² CHP III.14.



Figure 60: *The Deluge*, by James Martin, 1828. The first version of *The Deluge* was painted in 1826 and shown at the British Institution, it was then reproduced by Martin as a mezzotint in 1828. Martin quoted from Byron's poem *Heaven and Earth* in the pamphlet that accompanied the image:

Ye wilds that look eternal,
Where shall we fly?
Not to the mountains high,
For now there torrents rush with double roar
To meet the ocean.

its 'wiry dome' until bloody. Byron draws parallels between this action and that of the 'impeded soul' which would 'through his bosom eat' in its desperation to be free. This emotive image vividly evokes the tormented distress of the caged soul.³³

As with anti-somatic Dualism (from Gnosticism onwards), Byron's poetry frequently displays the inevitable concomitant of hating the body, a belief in the transcendental superiority of the soul. This is often achieved by creating a contrast between the luminescence of the soul and the dreary, lumpen body. In *Childe Harold* Canto IV, Byron repeatedly examines the idea that the 'beings of the Mind are not of clay'. They are 'Essentially immortal', despite being trapped in 'mortal bondage' for a time, where their 'brighter ray' is concealed by Matter's 'dull life'.³⁴ This juxtaposition of mind and clay heightens awareness of the disparity between the soul's light and the drab body. The phrase 'brighter ray' acts as a floodlight, revealing the bleakness of human existence in comparison to that of the unfettered spirit. The reference to 'mortal bondage' again presents the soul as shackled by flesh, a slave in involuntary servitude. The notion of life itself as bondage is shocking, revealing an almost Dualistic disgust for the soul's slavery to the body and the body's submission to the will of the Evil Principle ruling the material world.

The light of the soul is frequently contrasted with the darkness of clay in Byron's poetry, particularly in *Manfred* and *Heaven & Earth* where humans are constantly interacting with spirits and are thus made more aware of their own shortcomings. In *Manfred*, the scholar seeks to walk the realms of the Spirits and control them. They challenge his presence and his dominance, forcing him to justify his authority on the grounds that:

The Mind – the Spirit – the Promethean spark,
The lightning of my being, is as bright,
Pervading and far-darting as your own,
And shall not yield to yours, though cooped in clay!³⁵

³³ *CHP* III.15. A similar image can also be found in st.73, ll.692-697, along with *The Giaour* ll.840-42, 'To Caroline' and 'Childish Recollections'.

³⁴ *CHP* IV.5.37-43.

³⁵ l.i.153-156. There is an alternative to the first line which further reinforces the Dualist tones of the passage. *Manfred* refers to the 'Mind which is my Spirit – the high soul'.

This is an extremely Dualistic stance, with the human soul portrayed as a fragment of Divine Light, yearning for escape once it becomes self-aware. It is the equal of those spirits unencumbered by flesh. The alliteration of 'c' enhances the impression of confinement, of the soul as crouching in the small airless prison of the body. This is communicated by the untrammelled freedom of the light imagery and language of speed in the previous lines. The use of light encourages the reader to draw parallels with the blindness of the flesh. Secondly, it is weightless and beautiful, the diametric opposite of clay. 'Promethean spark' implies god-like fire and civilised thought. This latter is particularly interesting as Dualists believed it was only through the reception of revelatory *gnosis* that the soul became aware of its divine origin and repudiated the illusory pleasures of the earthly world. This is markedly similar to Calvinist depictions of election and will be discussed in Chapter Three. As noted earlier, Zoroastrians perceived fire to be the closest thing to Divine light on earth. Therefore fire is a suitable motif for a trapped soul, separated from the Divine light, or stolen according to Gnostic, Bogomil and Cathar teachings.³⁶ Words such as 'lightning', 'bright', 'pervading' and 'far-darting' suggest shooting beams of effervescent light, the speed and brightness of which prove Manfred's soul's equality with the Spirits. A similar concept can be found in Alohilahma's speech to her angelic lover in *Heaven and Earth*. She contrasts her own 'clay' with the 'beams' from which the Seraph is formed. Like Manfred she believes that she too contains 'a ray' which is 'lighted' at God's.³⁷ This idea is expressed again in a subsequent passage when she explicitly states that her soul is of the same 'eternal essence' as the 'celestial natures' of angels and God.³⁸ This notion of her soul as being formed from the same light as that of the angel and God is undeniably Dualist. After all, Christians do not usually claim their soul is actually part of God, whereas Dualists do.

Perhaps the most detailed depiction of man's chimerical nature can be found in Manfred's soliloquy when he considers suicide on the mountains of Jungfrau:

Half dust, half deity, alike unfit
 To sink or soar, with our mix'd essence make
 A conflict of its elements, and breathe

³⁶ In *Sardanapalus*, Byron describes fire as 'that most absorbing element, / Which most personifies the soul' II.i.433-434.

³⁷ *HE* I.i.97-99, 103-105.

³⁸ I.i.120-121, I.i.11.

The breath of degradation and of pride,
Contending with low wants and lofty will,
Till our mortality predominates.³⁹

This passage presents Man as a bastardised hybrid; neither fish nor fowl he belongs nowhere. This extremely negative perception of our 'mix'd essence' is not Christian. Most Christians perceive the soul and body as a natural unit, deliberately designed by God, while Calvinists perceived man as utterly depraved with all divinity excised by sin. Dualists, on the other hand, teach that the soul is divine perfection, mixed or trapped within the clogging clay of the fleshly form. The passage shows dust and deity in perpetual conflict rather than functioning as a unified whole. This is a Dualist concept, as is the notion of mortal existence as degrading the spirit with its 'low wants'. The word 'wants' presents mortal cravings as being felt on an animal level, creating a contrast with the high ideals of the soul's 'lofty will'. The word 'will' intimates self-control and a sense of discipline absent from the bestial 'wants' of the body. The double alliteration of this line heightens the dissimilarity, as does the juxtaposition of 'dust' and 'deity', 'sink' and 'soar'. The description of mortality predominating could mean that the bestial urges gain control or it could intimate that all such degrading actions will cease when the mortal form succumbs to death, releasing Manfred's divine half.

A similar contrast can be found in Lucifer's speech with Cain. He bemoans the fact that in humans 'high thought' is linked 'to a servile mass of matter', which 'chain'd down' the spirit with its 'most gross and petty, paltry wants / All foul and fulsome'.⁴⁰ As with 'lofty will', the language of height further emphasises the soul's superiority to the body. 'High thought' conveys an impression of nobility, wisdom and spiritual perfections that are completely beyond the 'servile mass of matter'. The word 'servile' implies a grovelling unctuousness and explains in part Lucifer's disdain for humanity, who blindly follow the dictates of the tyrant Jehovah. The contrast between the erudite soul and the servile body is further enhanced by the description of physical pleasures as 'gross' and 'petty', belittling mortal needs. The phrase 'foul and fulsome' has added connotations of perversion and debauchery, as well as the implications of dirt.

³⁹ I.ii.40-45.

⁴⁰ II.i.50-55.



Figure 61: *Manfred*, by James Martin, 1838.

Byron intensifies the disgusted revulsion of these lines by having them spoken by Lucifer, self-acknowledged ‘master of spirits’, who is not fettered in and tainted by matter. This lends added weight to his Dualistic anti-somatic diatribe. Lucifer’s disparaging dismissal of Cain as ‘Dust’ when ordering him to ‘limit thy ambition’ on the grounds that he is ‘clay – and canst but comprehend / That which was clay’, reveals his true disgust and gives the lie to his earlier protestations of equality.⁴¹ Lucifer’s description of the material world as ‘peopled with / Things whose enjoyment was to be in blindness’ shows a similar refusal to allow humans status as ‘people’, as that conveyed by the phrase ‘mass of matter’.⁴² Lucifer’s use of ‘peopled’ is sarcastic when read in conjunction with ‘Things’, the juxtaposition of the two words creating a harsh contrast and revealing Lucifer’s aversion. Lucifer goes on to revile the world as ‘A Paradise of Ignorance, from which / Knowledge was barred as poison’. There are strong Dualist undertones in this description of the ‘enjoyment’ of ‘blindness’. Dualist doctrines teach that the pleasures of the material world were created to ensnare the soul and keep it ignorant of its true state, trapping it in a sticky morass of hedonistic fulfilment. Humans enjoy their ignorance, often turning their backs on light and choosing to remain in darkness, as shown in various Dualistic texts. This is a central theme in the Gospel of John and one of the main reasons why it was often thought to be a Gnostic work, or at least influenced by Alexandrian Gnosticism. This voluntary blindness and mindless servitude is implicitly contrasted to the wide-ranging and untrammelled freedom of knowledge experienced by a pure spirit, such as Lucifer. A similar spiritual revulsion for matter can be seen in *Heaven & Earth* when the various Spirits rejoice in the imminent destruction of mankind, celebrating that ‘the abhorred / Children of dust be quenched’.⁴³ *Manfred* also displays this spiritual disregard for mankind, as the Spirits mock Manfred, dismissing him as ‘condemned clay’ and Arimanes himself sneers at Manfred’s celestial aspirations because his mortal ‘clay / Clogs the ethereal essence’.⁴⁴

As in *Tamburlaine*, Byron’s characters frequently exhibit a pronounced disgust for their mortal peers, believing their own spiritual aspirations and attainments

⁴¹ I.i.164-5.

⁴² II.ii.99-102.

⁴³ I.iii.97-8.

⁴⁴ II.iv.36, 56-57.

raise them above the ‘massy dregges’ of mankind, whose presence reminds them of their own clay-like mortality.⁴⁵ In *Lara* the eponymous hero avoids the men with whom ‘he felt condemned to breathe’, yearning to separate himself ‘from all who shared his mortal state’.⁴⁶ The Dualistic loathing of the corporeal form exhibited here is also expressed by Manfred, who argues that although he might wear ‘the form’, he has ‘no sympathy with breathing flesh’ and despises ‘the creatures of clay’ that surround him, glorifying instead in his own spirit.⁴⁷ He resents other humans as their very presence makes him feel ‘degraded’ back to ‘clay again’.⁴⁸ Note the similar language to *Childe Harold* Canto III, stanza 73, discussed at the start of this Section. Cain too despises his family and would rather ‘consort with spirits’. He wishes to remain in the heavenly realms of the spirit rather than return to earth.⁴⁹ The fact that it is the central heroes of these works who attack their fellow men and disparage their own bodies strengthens the impact of their self-loathing. As will be shown in the next Chapter, this hatred of the body is extremely characteristic of Dualists.

The Great Double Mysteries⁵⁰

A number of Byron’s poems deal with the concept of the freedom of the soul and its greater wisdom once released from the blinkered body. In *Childe Harold* Canto III, there is a long passage on the glories of ‘bodiless thought’ which argues that the soul can only achieve its full potential after finally escaping its ‘clay-cold bonds’.⁵¹ A similar idea is expressed in Canto IV, where the immortal part creates a ‘brighter ray’ in the mind.⁵² This concept of the innate wisdom of the divine fragment, or soul, also appears in *Cain*, where Lucifer tells Adah of the ‘wisdom of the spirit’ which instinctively ‘directs to right’.⁵³ Byron mentions something similar in his *Detached Thoughts*, number 96:

Man is born *passionate* of body – but with an innate though secret tendency to the love of Good in his Main-spring of Mind.⁵⁴

⁴⁵ ‘I will not descend to a world I despise’ writes the poet in ‘Lines to Rev J.T. Becher’ l.1.

⁴⁶ *Lara* Canto I.18, 345-347.

⁴⁷ II.i.56-58.

⁴⁸ II.ii.78-79.

⁴⁹ I.i.191.

⁵⁰ *Cain* II.i.404.

⁵¹ *CHP* III.73-74.

⁵² *CHP* IV.5.

⁵³ *Cain* I.ii.493-494.

⁵⁴ BLJ IX.46.

Dualism teaches that although there is a spark of divine light trapped in everyone, very few ever become aware of their celestial origins and turn from evil. This awareness comes through the reception of *gnosis*, which strips away fleshly illusion and reveals the truth about the world and its Creator. The above quotations can be interpreted as expressing the revelatory effects of the reception of *gnosis* on the soul.

There are a number of episodes in Byron's work that utilise this theme of illuminating *gnosis*. Again one of the most explicit incidents can be found in *Cain*, where Lucifer constantly exhorts Cain to look beyond vague words and see the truth about his Creator. He condemns the angels and Cain's family who mindlessly accept the status quo:

Knowing nought beyond their shallow senses,
Worship the *word* which strikes their ear, and deem
Evil or good what is proclaimed to them.⁵⁵

The use of the word 'shallow' combined with 'nought' hints at the ignorance of Jehovah's followers. The sibillance of 'shallow senses' underscores Lucifer's sneering derision of the human body's limitations. The word 'beyond' implies that there is a great deal of information that will remain forever outside the scope of these pathetic beings. By italicising '*word*' Byron shows how Lucifer sneers at the foolishness of those who choose to worship a mere word and accept the supposed truth of words rather than the empirical evidence of actions. The concept of the Word of God is central to Christianity. Christ is often presented as the divine *Logos*, the Word incarnate. Thus 'word' in this context should be capitalised. The fact that Byron deliberately writes 'word' rather than 'Word' undermines the authority of the Word of God and underlines Lucifer's disdain for the Christian message and its messenger, Christ. The implied limitation of Jehovah's worshippers is akin to the representations of non-Dualists in the Cathar and Bogomil texts as blinded by the words of the Evil Principle who rules the material world. The poem 'From Job' arguably depicts the fate of those who do not receive *gnosis* and are rendered 'Heedless and blind to wisdom's wasted light' in a similar fashion to the voluntary ignorance of the Edenic Family. The alliteration and consonance of 'wisdom' and 'wasted' creates a scornful tone emphasising the narrator's revulsion for these 'Creatures of clay' who cannot see

⁵⁵ II.i.9-11.



Figure 62: *The Subsiding of the Deluge*, by Thomas Cole, 1829. Cole was often inspired by Byron and a number of his works are based on Byron's poetry, most notably his *Course of Empire* series.³²

³² From the Smithsonian American Art Museum.

the light of knowledge shining all around them. The contrast of light and wisdom with blindness is again extremely similar to Dualist texts such as the Manichean Psalm mentioned earlier.

As noted previously, Lucifer urges Cain to use his reason to evaluate the world empirically and ascertain the truth. The constant references to truth and false premises, combined with the travels through space in search of knowledge, cast Lucifer as a Gnostic Redeemer bringing revelatory *gnosis* to Cain. This interpretation is supported by Lucifer's approval of Cain's 'worthy' doubts. Lucifer praises Cain's ability for reasoned thought and independent logic claiming it arises from the 'immortal part / Which speaks within' him.⁵⁶ The idea that doubt as to whether the OT God is good comes from the divine spark, trapped in the 'outward cov'ring', is undeniably Dualistic.⁵⁷ This is reinforced by Lucifer's approbation of the apple's gift of 'Reason' to humanity which allows them to realise that Jehovah's 'evil is not good' and that he is an 'indissoluble Tyrant' who only created humanity so 'That he may torture' them.⁵⁸ Dualists, particularly Gnostics, taught that the snake was the first Gnostic Redeemer and the apple symbolises the revelatory *gnosis* which stripped the illusions away from Adam and Eve, giving them the ability to differentiate between good and evil. Unlike Christians who bemoan the Fall from Edenic Grace, Gnostics would have agreed with Lucifer's derogatory description of Eden as a 'Paradise of Ignorance'. He, like the Gnostics, intimates that the Fall was beneficial, the first step on the road to redemption and the reunification of the divine fragments with the true God, after they reject the false delusions of the Evil Principle.

Throughout the play, Lucifer is constantly telling Cain that God is not all that He appears. While He might be the 'Maker of life and living things',⁵⁹ He is also 'the Destroyer' who 'makes but to destroy' and therefore cannot be 'all-great and good'.⁶⁰ Lucifer claims that there are in fact two deities, one good and the other evil. There is an explicitly Dualist passage in which he refers to 'the great double Mysteries! The

⁵⁶ I.i.100-104.

⁵⁷ I.i.117.

⁵⁸ I.i.153, 144.

⁵⁹ II.ii.486-487.

⁶⁰ I.i.486, 266.

two Principles'.⁶¹ Lucifer then claims that he is the second Principle. Cain believes him, telling Adah that 'He is a God' and 'speaks like / A God'.⁶² The capitalised 'G' places Lucifer on equal footing with 'God in heaven'.⁶³ Certainly Lucifer's description of his relationship with Jehovah has pronounced parallels with that postulated by Mani and the various Cathar-Bogomil texts mentioned before. They 'reign / Together' but their 'dwellings are asunder',⁶⁴ and Lucifer vehemently asserts his independence and equality, stating that:

I have nought in common with him!
Nor would: twould be aught above – beneath –
Aught save a sharer or a servant of
His power. I dwell apart; but I am great:-
Many there are who worship me, and more
Who shall.⁶⁵

The jealousy and 'irrevocable hate' which Lucifer feels for his fellow Principle practically drips from these lines. Like the Dualist Powers, these two appear to be diametrically opposed with nothing 'in common'; not even their 'power' is shared. The fact that Lucifer is emphatic in his denial that he is a 'servant' reinforces the impression that he is a more Dualist figure than Milton's subservient Satan. He might 'have a Victor – true; but no superior'. This could be read as referring to a conflict between the 'double Mysteries'. The concept of a victor who cannot remove his victim's powers is not the 'Sole Lord' of orthodox Christianity but more akin to a Dualistic demiurge or Principle. This is reiterated in Lucifer's assertion that although 'Homage he has from all', Jehovah has 'none from' him and so presumably has no power or control over him.⁶⁶

But which Principle is which? The central focus of the play is Cain's struggle to determine who is 'the Demon', Jehovah or Lucifer.⁶⁷ After all, as Lucifer points out, whoever is 'conqueror' will inevitably 'call the conquered / Evil', so no one's words can be trusted. Like the Dualist texts of the Cathars, Cain looks at the world

⁶¹ II.i.162-165.

⁶² I.i.350-351.

⁶³ III.i.248.

⁶⁴ II.i.376-377.

⁶⁵ I.i.305-310.

⁶⁶ II.ii.429-430.

⁶⁷ I.i.207.

around him and seeks to evaluate Jehovah's true nature, before deciding that He must be Evil because of His obsession with sacrifices and craving for 'scorching flesh and smoking blood'.⁶⁸ This line of reasoning is an exact parallel of the Bogomil and Cathar teachings concerning their vegetarianism and refusal to kill. This play can be seen as reflecting the Dualist assumption that the reception of *gnosis* will allow the elect to realise the true nature of the God of this world and turn from this Evil Principle to the true 'God in Heaven'.

There is a similar allusion to the Evil Principle's finite reign in *Manfred*. In the play Manfred refuses to kneel to Arimanes, glossed as 'Angra-Mainyu, the spirit of evil, the counter-creator'.⁶⁹ Although the reference to Angra Mainyu is Zoroastrian, the description of him as the counter-creator is Zurvanist. Zoroastrianism taught that all matter was created by Ahurah Mazda and was therefore good. Whereas Zurvanism, as shown in the Eznik-translation, taught that Harminus created the evil in the material world. Manfred will not to bow to Arimanes because he is not supreme, declaring:

Bid *him* bow down to that which is above him,
The overruling Infinite – the Maker
Who made him not for worship.⁷⁰

Although Arimanes is acknowledged as the current ruler of the material world, Manfred argues that his power is neither supreme nor permanent, possibly a reference to cyclical dominion. He was formed by another of superior power, the true 'Maker' and 'overruling Infinite'. The capitalised titles add authority to this Power, while the word 'overruling' projects his absolute supremacy. Moreover, the description of this deity as Infinite implies that Arimanes is a finite being with limited creative powers. The final line, stating that Arimanes was not made for worship, again has Zurvanist implications. Zurvan created Harminus by mistake and meant for Hormistus to rule. However he was forced to allow Harminus supremacy for a time, before causing him to be defeated. This cyclical dominion can also be seen in the fact that Arimanes' followers are shocked that Manfred dares to :

Refuse to Arimanes on his throne

⁶⁸ III.i.299.

⁶⁹ Note to Act II, Scene IV.

⁷⁰ II.iv.46-48.

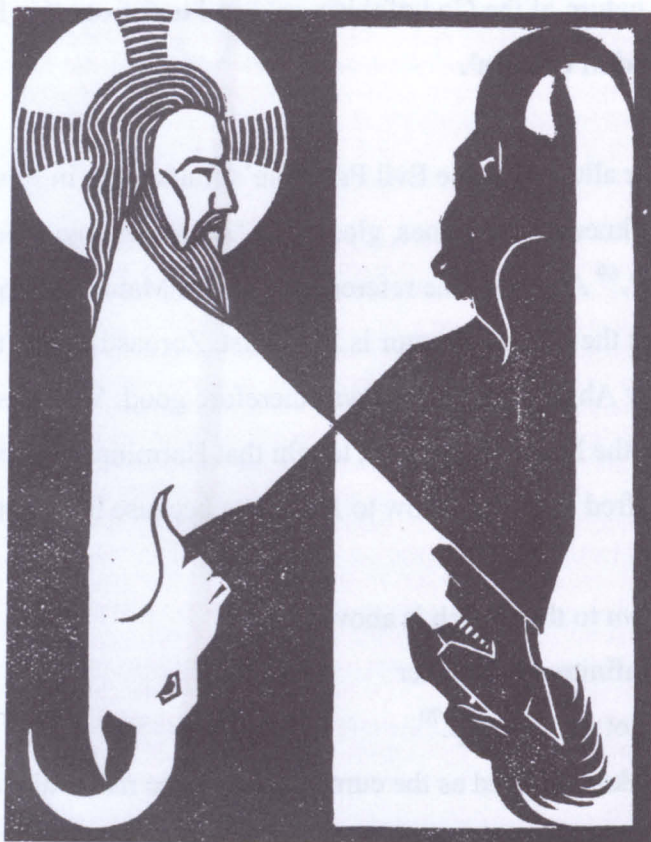


Figure 63: The Devil is the Shadow of God, from 'The Scapegoat' by M.C. Escher, 1921.³³

³³ From the Escher Foundation, The Hague.

What the whole earth accords.⁷¹

This implies that Arimanes is currently ruling the material world. Thomas Love Peacock argued that Byron believed this was truly the case, based on his reading of *Manfred*.⁷² Peacock held this belief because of the similarities between Byron's depiction of Arimanes and his own presentation of Ahrimanes as 'the monarch of this world' from whom 'now all power proceeds'. As will be shown later, Byron frequently utilised this doctrine of cyclical dominion and the uncertainty as to which Principle was currently in power to challenge Calvinist depictions of God and the authority of their Church.⁷³

Returning once more to *Cain*, Byron's knowledge of Zurvanism can be traced here too. After listening to Lucifer discuss 'the other God' who names him 'Demon',⁷⁴ with whom he reigns, Cain rounds on him enquiring:

How came ye, being Spirits wise and infinite,
To separate? Are ye not as brethren in
Your essence?⁷⁵

After implying that the Two Principles, Lucifer and Jehovah, are equal in wisdom and eternal power, Cain asks why they represent such vastly disparate concepts of good and evil. The mention of them as brothers again calls to mind Ezriq's text, and his version of the division of the essences of good and evil into separate entities. This division is described by Lucifer as a 'mutual and irrevocable hate' which can never be quenched.⁷⁶ Lucifer's vehement protestations of rebellion are similar to those of Jaldabaoth and Satanael and the description of their perpetual 'Conflict', constantly recurring across the universes has undeniable parallels with Mani's teachings of the continual struggle for supremacy between Light and Dark:

All, all, will I dispute! And world by world
And star by star, and universe by universe,
Shall tremble in the balance, till the great

⁷¹ II.iv.42-44.

⁷² 'Ahrimanes' I.27, 16, cited in Young 'Peacock and Ahrimanes'.

⁷³ Shelley also uses the Dualist notion of cyclical dominion, drawn from his knowledge of Manichaeism and his reading of Volney, to challenge those who 'Howled hideous praises to their Demon-God' believing he craved 'the trade of blood'. *Queen Mab*, II. 150-157.

⁷⁴ II.i.6-7.

⁷⁵ II.ii.380-382.

⁷⁶ II.ii.442.

Conflict shall cease.⁷⁷

Whether or not he is the Evil Principle, the Good Principle, the bringer of *gnosis*, or simply a fallen angel with delusions of grandeur playing devil's advocate, that Lucifer is espousing Dualist doctrines cannot be denied. Regardless of whether Byron meant for the angel to actually be one of the Two Principles, the important fact here is that he obviously knew enough about various Dualist doctrines to utilise them in his works. Not only simple concepts such as the anti-somatic rejection of the body and reverence for the soul's divinity, but also the detailed Zurvanist aetiological myths, and the concept of *gnosis* as revealing the truths about the material body and the real nature of the World's Creator and ruler to the enlightened few.

Palling Pleasures and Sensual Sloth⁷⁸

Gnosis had one other important effect on Dualists. Revelation releases the enlightened from the false illusions of the Evil Principle, allowing them to evade the delusive snares of hedonistic luxury. Believing all material pleasures to be the deliberate creations of the Evil Principle to keep the soul ignorant, Dualists practise an extreme asceticism. They abjured all fleshly enjoyments, from meat and wine to sex and war, teaching that it was only on the reception of *gnosis* that the divine fragment was able to override the lusts of the body. This ascetic belief in the 'corrosive passions' of 'earth and earthly things' can be found in many of Byron's letters where he describes himself as 'buried in an abyss of Sensuality' and 'given to Harlots'.⁷⁹ It can also be found in a number of his poems, particularly *Childe Harold* and *Sardanapalus*.⁸⁰

Canto I of the former expresses a pronounced disgust for Harold's hedonistic lifestyle. Harold was once a 'shameless wight, / Sore given to revel and ungodly glee' who 'through Sin's long labyrinth had run'.⁸¹ Yet he becomes a sated epicurean glutton, despondent because 'he felt the fullness of satiety'.⁸² Harold's bouts of depression are mentioned in Chapter One. It is arguable that Byron presents this depression as arising

⁷⁷ II.ii.436-439.

⁷⁸ *Sardanapalus* I.i.24, I.ii.70.

⁷⁹ BLJ I.158, also 160-165 and BLJ III. 204.

⁸⁰ *Prophecy of Dante* I.132, 131.

⁸¹ *CHP* I.2, 5; there is also a similar concept in 'Damaetas', whose eponymous hero is 'a slave to every vicious joy' and 'ran through all the maze of sin'. Incidentally, Moore believed that the poem was a self-portrait by Byron.

⁸² *CHP* I.3.23.

from Harold's realisation of his former sins. Certainly, it is only once he learns to hate his vices that he becomes depressed and decides to reform his life:

Conscious Reason whisper'd to despise
His early youth, misspent in maddest whim.⁸³

'Conscious Reason' could be perceived as an allusion to *gnosis*. The capital letter lends it importance and it seems a separate entity, murmuring advice. The fact that this Reason urges him to scorn his former enjoyments makes it seem even more similar to *gnosis*. If one looks at all Byron's mentions of Reason cumulatively, the parallels with *gnosis* are striking. This interpretation is supported by a subsequent passage, found in 'To Inez' in *Childe Harold*, in which the narrator is envious of those who are still unenlightened:

Yet others rapt in pleasure seem
And taste of all that I forsake;
Oh! May they still of transport dream,
And ne'er, at least like me, awake!⁸⁴

The image of people as 'rapt in pleasure' implies that they are blind to all else, wholly engrossed in their bliss. They enjoy everything Harold has renounced. The word 'rapt' suggests a trance-like state, rendering the participants oblivious to their surroundings. This could be read as a reference to the illusory nature of the material world, which blinds the soul to its entrapment, rather like the visions of existence in 1990's America which allow the Machines to blind humanity to their cattle-like state in the Matrix films. The use of the word 'taste' reinforces the impression that the dreamers are revelling in the sensual pleasures of the physical world – pleasures which Dualists abjured as the seductive tools of the Evil Principle. The fact the narrator describes himself as awaking to reality has Dualist overtones as there are numerous references to sight and blindness, dreams and reality in Dualist discussions of the effects of *gnosis* on its recipient. The dream is pleasurable, whereas reality is less appealing – as shown by the narrator's envy of those who are still blinded by 'pleasure', and his hope that they will not have such a harsh awakening as he did. Byron also expressed this idea in 'I Would I Were a Careless Child' in which the poet bemoans his revelation, in a similar fashion to Cain after his revelatory trip with Lucifer:

Truth! – wherefore did thy hated beam

⁸³ CHP I.27.321-322.

⁸⁴ CHP I, 'To Inez', st. 7.



Figure 64: *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, after Henry Thomas Alken, 1822.³⁴

³⁴ From the British Museum.

Awake me to a world like this?⁸⁵

Here again can be seen the concept of a dream-like illusory world. The fact that it was a 'beam' of light which wakes him implies that the dream world was darkness – another standard Dualist image. The poet-narrator's hatred of Truth and the real world intimates that the dream world was infinitely more pleasant, as befits something created to tempt the soul. Parallels can be drawn here with Calvin's shipwreck allegory where he essentially claims that ignorance is bliss, leaving the soul serenely happy on a calm sea. This comparison reinforces the reading of Byron's *gnosis*/Reason as releasing him from Calvinist ignorance or delusion.

Teachings focusing on the evil of the material world and all its pleasures as seductive traps to tempt the unwary inevitably result in an extreme form of asceticism. Byron's self-abnegative lifestyle and vegetarianism will be examined more fully in Chapter Three,⁸⁶ however it is worth noting here that he was given to periodic bouts of extreme asceticism, stating emphatically that he would '*not* be the slave of any appetite'.⁸⁷ Certainly he was aware of the Dualist reasoning behind their ascetic lifestyles – describing all 'passion as a whirlpool' which cannot be entered without 'attraction from its Vortex'.⁸⁸ This alludes to the destructive nature of any passion or lust, which cannot be enjoyed with temperate restraint but must inevitably suck one into their depths to be overwhelmed and drowned.

It is perhaps in *Sardanapalus* that Byron's most sustained and Dualistic expression of asceticism can be found. Sardanapalus was a historical king in ancient Assyria who was reputed to be wholly obsessed with the lusts of the flesh. According to Diodorus Siculus, Byron's main source for his work,⁸⁹ Sardanapalus 'exceeded all his predecessors in sloth and luxury', he:

Not only daily inured himself to such meat and wine as might incite and stir up his lascivious lusts, but gratified them by filthy Catamites, as well as

⁸⁵ St.3.

⁸⁶ BLJ I.114-125; II. 51, 97; III.226; VII. 223, 39 amongst others.

⁸⁷ BLJ III. 212.

⁸⁸ BLJ IX.38.

⁸⁹ Byron wrote 'for the historical account I refer you to Diodorus Siculus' and 'Mitford's Greece', BLJ VIII.128, 26; see also BLJ VIII. 27; Appendix 4, number 53; *GHCD*, V, 'Epicurus', Note I.

whores, and strumpets, and without any sense of modesty, abusing both sexes, slighted shame, the concomitant of filthy and impure actions.⁹⁰

His subjects perceived him as 'a vile and worthless wretch' and eventually deposed him in a military coup led by Arbaces the Mede and Belesis the High Priest.⁹¹ This vehement diatribe explains the rebellion which led to Sardanapalus' death. One of the most graphic depictions of this story of hedonism and death is Eugene Delacroix's painting *The Death of Sardanapalus*, painted in 1824 and based on Byron's drama. Described as the 'most liberated of his works', the painting provides a vivid image of the nineteenth-century perception of the decadence and debauchery of Sardanapalus' Court and is described as being the 'most obviously Romantic picture' that was 'ever painted'.⁹²

Richardson sees *Sardanapalus* as a remake of Shakespeare's *Anthony and Cleopatra* where the man of action and the 'exotic queen' are combined in a single figure, the 'she-king' Sardanapalus.⁹³ Richardson's focus on the 'theatricality' of this work results in a neglect of its religious imagery. Although implicitly acknowledging the negative presentation of Sardanapalus' sybaritic role as an 'effeminate and licentious harem master' with its implied advocacy of abstemiousness,⁹⁴ Richardson and other critics who have examined *Sardanapalus* ignore the Dualism in the play.⁹⁵

This section addresses the Dualistic tones of the play's condemnation of the 'weakness and wickedness of luxury' and its parallel attack on 'war and warriors' with their 'seas of gore', which have been ignored thus far.⁹⁶ Although asceticism is

⁹⁰ *The Historical Library of Diodorus the Sicilian in 15 Books to which are added the fragments of Diodorus*, trans. G. Booth (London: W.M. Dowell, 1814), I, p.119.

⁹¹ *Ibid.* p.120.

⁹² Along with Turner, Delacroix is considered 'the greatest master of Romantic painting', and like Turner he drew inspiration from Byron's poetry, Clark, *Romantic Rebellion*, pp.199-122. See also B. Farwell, 'Sources for Delacroix's *Death of Sardanapalus*', *The Art Bulletin*, 40, (1958), pp.66-70; Honour, *Romanticism*, pp.46-53.

⁹³ A. Richardson, *A Mental Theatre: Poetic Drama and Consciousness in the Romantic Age*, (Pennsylvania: UP, 1988), p.142.

⁹⁴ Richardson, p.143.

⁹⁵ See also G. Wilson-Knight, 'Simple and Bright: *Sardanapalus*' which examines the role of starlight and the paradoxical roles of feminine and masculine in the play, from *Plays of Lord Byron*, eds. R. Gleckner and B. Beatty, pp.181-199; S. Wolfson's examination of the perception of 'effeminacy' in the nineteenth-century links *Sardanapalus* with 'discourses on gender and the fate of empire' and condemnation of the pampered aristocracy, "'A Problem few Dare Imitate": *Sardanapalus* and "Effeminate Character"', *ELH*, 58, (1991), pp.867-902.

⁹⁶ I.ii.68, 528, 171, 402.

not specifically Dualist, the condemnation of 'sensual sloth' combined with the repeated earth-clay imagery and Sardanapalus' own vitriolic attack on war and bloodshed renders the asceticism of this play more Dualist than Christian. Moreover, the frequent arguments between the various protagonists concerning the soul's actual corrosion by material activities is again closer to Dualism than the Calvinist Christianity which Byron was familiar with.

Sardanapalus is constantly condemned as an epicurean voluptuary, wholly given over to the pleasures of the flesh. Byron built upon Diodorus' portrayal of Sardanapalus as 'wallowing in pleasure' like a beast. Salamenes describes how his King 'sweats in palling pleasures' which 'dull his soul' as he listens to 'the lascivious tinklings / Of lulling instruments' and plays with his harem.⁹⁷ The word 'sweats' suggests that Sardanapalus' pleasures have made him sick and unhealthy. The word also insinuates that he is over-indulging, after all a life of indolence is supposed to be indolent, not sweatily frenetic. The alliteration of 'palling pleasures' indicates that Sardanapalus might, like Harold, be satiated. The word 'palling' has added connotations of death, as 'pall' can also be the death shroud or an enveloping, cloying blanket, which reinforces the sense of tedium and apathy. A useful allegory for Dualist asceticism would portray physical urges as acting like blinkers on a horse, blinding the soul to its divinity and focusing it on the material world in front of it. The word 'dulls' has parallels with such Dualist doctrines in its implication that Sardanapalus' debauchery has actually tarnished his soul's light, corrupting it, or the soul's sight has been damaged, its intellect or insight blunted by Sardanapalus' excesses. This can be contrasted with the glory of the soul as it should be, described so vividly in *Manfred*. Salamanes' disdain for Sardanapalus' amusements shows him to be an ascetic. Even music is censured as an almost sexual lust, insinuated by 'lascivious tinklings'. The very notes are lewd harlots, shamelessly seducing the ears. The contrast between the implied decadence of 'lascivious' and the tinny insignificance of 'tinklings' stresses Salamanes' scorn. The description of the instruments as 'lulling' again reflects the notion that pleasure 'dulls the soul' in a soothing, stifling haze of music. Although Salamanes does not explicitly state that he believes material pleasures to be the creations of an Evil Principle, his scorn and

⁹⁷ I.i.24-25, 29-30.



Figure 65: *The Death of Sardanapalus* by Eugene Delacroix.

advocacy of a more restrained, ascetic lifestyle is still remarkably Dualistic.

Interestingly, Salamanes' scathing condemnation of Sardanapalus' pleasures has a number of parallels with *Tamburlaine Part Two*, in which the tyrant criticises his sons for being 'soft as down':

Their fingers made to quaver on a lute,
Their arms to hang about a lady's neck,
Their legs to dance a caper in the air.⁹⁸

The association of physical pleasures, lusts and idle amusements with cowardliness and physical weakness is identical with Salamanes' views. As mentioned previously, Marlowe's play is thought to have strong Gnostic overtones. Its parallels with Byron's play reinforce the argument that Salamanes is expressing a Dualistic asceticism through his condemnation of his king's excesses.

Salamanes' attack on Sardanapalus reaches its peak in this vituperative rant against the 'despotism of vice':

Think'st thou there is no tyranny but that
Of blood and chains? The despotism of vice,
The weakness and wickedness of luxury,
The negligence, the apathy, the evils,
Of sensual sloth – produced ten thousand tyrants.⁹⁹

The passage could be interpreted as suggesting that depraved actions actually control Sardanapalus, rather than he choosing them. This anthropomorphism is repeated when luxury is portrayed as being both weak and wicked, an actual entity in its own right. The combination of alliteration and consonance heightens the intensity of Salamanes' anger. Luxury is shown as weakening the soul by corrupting it with evil. Again these sentiments seem similar to those of Mani and the Cathars. Finally, the sibilance of 'sensual sloth' is extremely compelling. The 's' sound rolls off the tongue with a seductive languor that is almost onomatopoeic. Sloth is one of the seven deadly sins and linking it with sensual pleasures creates an image of someone almost catatonic with sensory overload. This again can be related back to the Dualist belief in the unenlightened soul as seduced into torpid passivity by worldly pleasures. Returning to Delacroix's work one can see the ultimate proof of Sardanapalus' materialistic

⁹⁸ *Tamburlaine* 2 I.iii.24-34.

⁹⁹ I.ii.66-70.

hedonism. Lying on his death bed, he is surrounded by riches and beautiful women, whose throats are being brutally slashed so he can take *all* his pleasures with him into death. Byron's play also shows this, though the slave girl dies voluntarily.

Sardanapalus' own hedonism is contrasted with the almost puritanical asceticism of Salamanes, 'the austere', who is formed of 'rock' and therefore 'free / From all taints of common earth'. Sardanapalus contrasts this with his own 'softer clay' which he associates with his weaker character intimating that he, unlike Salamanes, is subject to the 'taints of common earth'.¹⁰⁰ The earth-clay imagery and the degeneracy of physical gratification could be read as evidence of Byron's understanding of Dualistic asceticism. By the end of the play, even Sardanapalus has become more ascetic, he drinks water instead of wine and his hopes that he will be 'purified by death from some / Of the gross stains of too material being' acknowledge the truth of Salamanes' arguments.¹⁰¹

This play could just be a straightforward expression of asceticism, which is after all lauded in the Pauline Epistles and the rest of the NT, as well as being encouraged by Scottish Calvinist Kirks. However, the parallel condemnation of war and bloodshed in *Sardanapalus* is not particularly Calvinistic. After all, the Calvinist Church of Byron's Scotland burns heretics, hangs murderers and penalises adultery with unwonted vigour, not to mention that the majority believe they are damned by an unfeeling God before the foundation of the world. The condemnation of bloodshed, war and sacrifices is exceptionally Dualist, especially Manichaeism and Catharism which both taught that all such activities were proof of the dominion of the Evil Principle.

Sardanapalus condemns the 'tyranny' of 'blood and chains' with a vehemence equal to that of 'austere' Salamenes' avocation of asceticism. Later Dualist sects such as the Cathars denounced killing, warfare and anything that resulted in the shedding of blood. Even early Dualists argued that the God of the Bible must be the Evil Principle because of His demands for living sacrifices, the destruction of the deluge and various other bloody events. Throughout *Sardanapalus* Byron uses the king to

¹⁰⁰ II.i.579, 519-522.

¹⁰¹ V.i.424-425.

condemn those who are ‘blotted o’er with blood’, such as his murderous ancestor Queen Semiramis who ruled the Assyrian Empire.¹⁰² Byron was not only aware of Semiramis from Diodorus’ History, but also from Dante’s *Inferno* where she is shown with the souls of the lustful in the Second Circle because ‘to sensual vices she was so abandoned’.¹⁰³ This was not mentioned in Diodorus’ history, yet appears remarkably similar to both Byron and Diodorus’ presentations of Sardanapalus. It would seem that Sardanapalus inherited his Amazonian ancestress’ sensual weakness, if not her martial strength.

Garofalo examines the drama’s presentation of warfare as an expression of power.¹⁰⁴ She argues that Byron’s depictions of war and power are based on British and Napoleonic rule. Although extremely interesting, this reading of *Sardanapalus* once again neglects the underlying religious connotations. The absolute condemnation of war is one of the central themes of the play. Although Garofalo refers to this ‘pacifism’ she does so in order to argue that Sardanapalus is avoiding the responsibility of leadership.¹⁰⁵ Neither Garofalo nor Salamenes recognise the religious aspects of Sardanapalus’ loathing for mindless slaughter, simply perceiving it as a weakness resulting from his debauched lifestyle.

Sardanapalus mocks Salamanes’ veneration of Semiramis and Baal as ‘glorious’ because of the ‘seas of gore’ they shed. They discuss how Baal ‘wert made / A God’ because he built such a ‘vast Empire’.¹⁰⁶ Not only is it shocking that widespread slaughter results in deification but it also aligns Baal with the Evil Principle of Dualist teachings, who can be identified as a false God because of his blood-spattered history. Salamanes claims to be ‘the mouthpiece of the people’,¹⁰⁷ espousing their views, causing Sardanapalus to castigate his subjects as ‘ungrateful and ungracious slaves’ who do not appreciate the ‘peace and pleasure’ he has given

¹⁰² II.ii.548.

¹⁰³ Canto V ll.45-62.

¹⁰⁴ D. Garofalo, ‘Political Seductions: The Show of War in Byron’s *Sardanapalus*’, *Criticism*, 44, (2002), pp. 43-63.

¹⁰⁵ Garofalo, ‘Political Seductions’, p.45.

¹⁰⁶ I.ii.141, 111-114.

¹⁰⁷ I.ii.82.

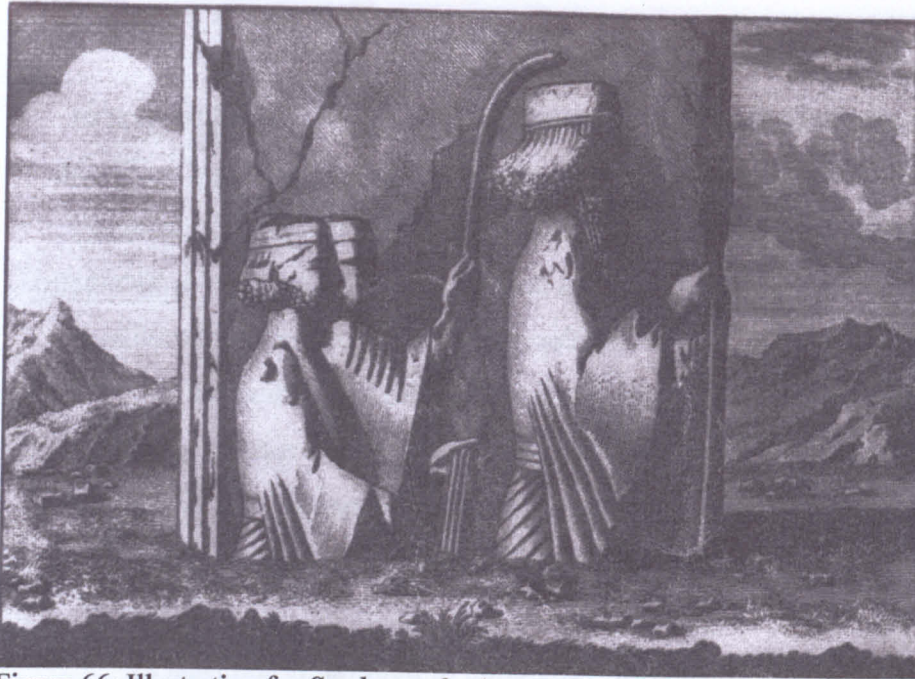


Figure 66: Illustration for *Sardanapalus* by Achille Deveria, 1825.

them.¹⁰⁸ The reader feels his own confusion that they would genuinely respect him more if he had ‘shed their blood’ and ‘led them’:

To dry in desert’s dust by myriads,

Or whiten with their bones the banks of the Ganges.¹⁰⁹

It is worth noting that despite being an avowed hedonist, Sardanapalus only focuses on the pointless waste and death of war and makes no mention of the financial benefits of conquering other nations – the pillaging, the subsequent tributes, the heady veneration as a demi-God. For an epicurean wholly given over to fleshly pleasures, this seems a curious oversight and undermines Salamanes’ aspersions of epicurean depravity. Obviously as ruler Sardanapalus would benefit the most from spreading his Empire’s borders yet chooses not to for his people, opting to protect them rather than gain more treasure. Due to this, he is even more perplexed by his subjects’ desire for war and violent, bloody deaths. The reader shares his confusion, while his selfless reasons for refusing to fight make his arguments against violence even more compelling.

The other way in which Byron encourages support of Sardanapalus’ anti-war arguments is by depicting him, like Milton’s Satan, as ‘Steeped but not drowned, in deep voluptuousness’.¹¹⁰ Byron describes how he ‘made Sardanapalus *brave* [...] and also as *amiable* as [his] poor powers could render him’.¹¹¹ He has a number of redeeming virtues, not only a desire to alleviate the ‘natural burthen’ of his subjects’ ‘mortal misery’ but also nobility and bravery.¹¹² Despite condemning war, he rises to the occasion and fights valiantly to defend his family and their inheritance. Even when death is certain, he refuses to ‘blench’ nor ‘fear’ his enemies, arguing that ‘to live in dread of death’ would be ‘to die’ before his ‘time’.¹¹³ Byron’s portrayal of Sardanapalus’ bravery renders his condemnation of warfare and death more valid than if he was simply indolent or cowardly. It shows that he genuinely perceives it as morally wrong and is not simply avoiding it out of spineless fear.

¹⁰⁸ I.ii.226, I.ii.529.

¹⁰⁹ I.ii.227-229.

¹¹⁰ I.i.13.

¹¹¹ BLJ VIII.126-7.

¹¹² I.ii.351-352.

¹¹³ I.ii.310, 313, 394-394.

Sardanapalus' virtues are given further prominence by the presentation of his opponents as venal and vicious. Byron inverts Diodorus' depiction of Arbaces and Belesis. Whereas the historian describes Arabaces as 'a valiant and prudent man' who nobly forgives his fellow conspirator's deceitful avarice once he has become king,¹¹⁴ Byron portrays them as 'a factious priest and faithless soldier' who unite 'the worst vices / Of the most dangerous orders of mankind'.¹¹⁵ They plot rebellion against their lawful king and even when he acts nobly in forgiving them, still attack him. It is possible that Byron got the idea of this act of mercy from Diodorus' account of Arbaces forgiving Belesis. Sardanapalus appears even more decent and righteous (albeit foolish) in comparison to these traitors, once again lending weight to his anti-war statements. Another inversion of Diodorus' text, used to similar effect, can be found in the change in Arbaces' view of Sardanapalus. According to Diodorus, it is only after the 'sight' of his king that Arbaces despises him as 'a vile and worthless wretch'.¹¹⁶ However, in Byron's version before Sardanapalus personally intervenes to save Arbaces from torture, he thinks his king a 'silkworm', yet after he uses words such as 'nobly', 'royally' and 'bravely', wishing to serve Sardanapalus 'proudly' until Belesis convinces him to fear treachery.¹¹⁷

Sardanapalus' courage not only lends weight to his own anti-war message, but also supports Salamanes' ascetic denigration of physical pleasures. It is only once he turns his back on his hedonistic lifestyle, abandoning his 'songs, and lutes, and feasts, and concubines' that Sardanapalus is able to show his better qualities and appear in a good light.¹¹⁸ Throughout the play there are constant attacks on all physical activities as they lessen the participants and corrupt them, whether in battle or in bed. The lifestyles of both Salamanes and Sardanapalus are condemned, while their arguments are supported. Taken in conjunction, the play can be viewed as representing a fully articulated Dualist asceticism, with its repudiation of all the 'Acts of this clay'.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁴ Diodorus, *History*, p.120.

¹¹⁵ II.i.229-231.

¹¹⁶ Diodorus, *History*, p.120.

¹¹⁷ II.i.337-339, 376.

¹¹⁸ I.ii.252.

¹¹⁹ I.ii.402.



Figure 67: A Collection of Byron's letters recently sold by Sotheby's.

Conclusion: Byron 'clay from first to last'¹²⁰

Regardless of whether he was a genuine follower of Dualism and ignoring for the moment the purpose behind his adaptation and utilisation of Dualism in many of his poems, the fact is that Byron did undeniably use Dualist doctrines and imagery. He also expressed Dualist themes in his letters and conversations. Byron's correspondence with Hodgson attests to his belief in the immortality of the soul and hope for a non-bodily resurrection – both central Dualist tenets. This negative notion of the body and belief in the supremacy of the soul can also be found in Lady Blessington's *Conversations*. In one passage she presents Byron as:

Tracing every defect to which we are subject, to the infirmities entailed on us by the prison of clay in which the heavenly spark is confined.¹²¹

A Dualist would heartily advocate the sentiments expressed in this quotation. The specific language used here, 'prison of clay' and 'heavenly spark', is almost identical to that used in the Dualist texts examined earlier, as is the idea that all defects and weaknesses can be attributed to this earthly jail, which corrupts the Divine fragment. Byron's description of practising with the noted pugilist Jackson, 'so as to get matter under and give sway to the ethereal part of my nature', provides a further indication of his knowledge of Dualist doctrines.¹²²

Byron was certainly aware of his own peculiarly complex nature. By turns wilful and whimsical, undoubtedly cruel to his wife and at the same time capable of astonishing bouts of generosity,¹²³ even his alternating religious views, in a constant state of flux, can be seen as indicative of Byron's multifaceted personality. In his conversations with Lady Blessington, she recalls Byron describing himself as 'a strange melange of good and evil'.¹²⁴ Byron mentions the evaluation given by a phrenologist after studying his skull:

He says that mine are strongly marked – but very antithetical, for everything developed in & on this same skull of mine has its *opposite* in great force, so

¹²⁰ *The Two Foscari* II.i.92.

¹²¹ Blessington, p.68.

¹²² Guiccioli, I, p.453.

¹²³ He gave money he could ill afford to Hodgson on various occasions, lent money to James Wedderburn Webster, to William Godwin, to Mary Shelley and various others, as well as helping the burgeoning careers of a number of writers and poets, including Coleridge and Hogg.

¹²⁴ Blessington, p. 183.

that to believe him my good & evil are at perpetual war, - pray heaven the last don't come off victorious.¹²⁵

This sense of internal conflict between good and evil, body and soul is extremely Dualistic, particularly the notion of 'perpetual war' inside the mind, mirroring the cyclical dominion of the Two Principles. As Ayock noted in his article, 'Byron was, fundamentally, a dualist, that is he believed himself to have a dual personality in which good and evil competed for mastery'.¹²⁶ In part, this resulted from his Calvinist upbringing, which encouraged a conviction in humanity's total depravity.

Perhaps the most detailed expression of Byron's interest in man's dual nature can be found in the closing passages of *Manfred*, when the Abbot mournfully describes Manfred's inner conflict:

This should have been a noble creature: he
Hath all the energy which would have made
A goodly frame of glorious elements
Had they been wisely mingled; as it is,
It is an awful chaos – light and darkness –
And mind and dust – and passions and pure thoughts,
Mix'd, and contending without end or order,
All dormant or destructive: he will perish.¹²⁷

The chimerical nature of body and soul is vividly depicted in this passage and there is a marked contrast created between the favourable description of Manfred's potential, using words such as 'noble' and 'glorious' and that actuality of 'awful chaos'. It is interesting that Byron has the Abbot refer to the cause of this non-realised potential in the phrase 'had they been wisely mingled'. This could imply that a Creator could have tipped the balance in the favour of good, rather than allowing the chaotic mix of 'light and darkness' to occur. The intimation that wisdom was not shown in the creation of Manfred hints that perhaps his Creator is not wise – possibly a Lesser or Bad Principle? Alternatively, these lines could refer to the perfect balance of the Golden Mean whereby body and soul exist in perfect cooperation, all passions and desires present in temperate moderation, a balance that Manfred sadly lacked. Once again, the

¹²⁵ BLJ III.137.

¹²⁶ Ayock, 'Lord Byron and Bayle's Dictionary', p.147.

¹²⁷ III.i.180-187.



Figure 68: *Conrad saure Gulnare de l'incendie*, by Horace Vernet, 1819.



Figure 69: *Le Corsair*, by Horace Vernet, 1824.³⁵

³⁵ Both figures come from P. Joannides, 'A Byron Subject by Horace Verne', *The Burlington Magazine*, 116, (1974), pp.668, 670.

derogatory dust motif can be seen, contrasted with the 'pure thoughts' of the 'mind', expressing the body-soul dualism characteristic of Dualist texts. A similar depiction of internal conflict can be found in the descriptions of Conrad in *The Corsair*:

There is a war, a chaos of the mind,
When all its elements convulsed, combined,
Lie dark and jarring with perturbed force,
And gnashing with impenitent remorse.¹²⁸

Byron creates a compelling picture of the tangled, ceaselessly juddering convulsions of these antithetical parts, good and evil, fleshly and spiritual, forced to co-exist in one form. The negative aspects of such an unfortunate union are expressed by the use of 'convulsed', 'jarring' and 'gnashing' which create an impression of diseased paroxysms or epileptic seizures.

Byron seems to have perceived himself as inherently dualistic, a creature equally composed of good and evil, nobility and devilry combined in one body. This belief in his own dual nature would have given the Dualist arguments of the heresies under discussion an added attraction, as they would have supported his pre-existing self-perceptions and experience of life. Shelley also considers this concept in *On the Devil* when he argues that:

To suppose that the world was created and is superintended by two spirits of balanced power and opposite dispositions is simply a personification of the struggle which we experience within ourselves.¹²⁹

Returning to Lucretius, with whom I opened this Chapter's discussion of Dualism, there are a number of pronounced parallels between those who experience a 'particular affinity' with Lucretius' work, Dualist doctrines and Byron's own character traits. Greenblatt's work on Lucretius examines Montaigne's rapport with Lucretius' theories and it is notable that the points he lists in support of this relationship are equally applicable to Byron. They include a contempt for mortality, a fear of the terrors of the afterlife, a repudiation of 'ascetic self-punishment and violence against the flesh', which will be examined in the final conclusion, and a

¹²⁸ II.10. Similar imagery can also be seen in *Giaour* which contrasts 'wayward deeds' with a 'noble soul', describing the 'brighter traits with evil mix'd', ll.860-69.

¹²⁹ Shelley, *On the Devil*, p.45.

belief in the importance of one's own senses and the evidence of the material world, which is, after all, a prevailing theme in much of Byron's poetry.¹³⁰

¹³⁰ S. Greenblatt, 'Lucretius', *The Sunday Times, Culture*, (18. 9. 2011).



Figure 70: Illustration for *The Corsair* by Thomas Stothard. John Murray gave Lady Byron fourteen prints illustrating Byron's poems by Thomas Stothard as a wedding present.

CHAPTER THREE: SUBVERSIONS AND SIMILARITIES

*'Tis thus the world rewards the fools
That live upon her treach'rous smiles
She leads them blindfolded by her rules
And ruins all whom she beguiles.*

Cowper, *Olney Hymns*.¹

The Victorian fascination with fairy tales opens a side-door into this discussion of the symbolism of light and dark. Byron's work is rife with these motifs, which both reinforce and undermine reader assumptions. Light is an emblem of truth, of purity and of Divinity; whereas Darkness is ineluctably perceived as the trademark of evil, the mark of moral degeneracy. The adaptation of Orthodox morality-driven symbolism, along with the appropriation of Christian imagery makes the fairytale genre exceptionally interesting within the particular context of this study. The stern didactic moralising of Victorian works rely on traditional Christianised symbolism to reinforce its tenets. One only has to look at works such as Kingsley's *The Water Babies*, *Peter Pan* by J.M. Barry, or G. MacDonald's *The Princess and the Goblin*, to see the association of dirt and darkness with evil, and light with beauty and purity. Another vivid set of examples can be found in the illustrations by Edmund Dulac for Arthur Quiller-Couch's fairy tales. These pearlescent paintings almost gleam from the page and the reader is left in no doubt as to the moral fibre of these characters. On the one hand is the young hero or heroine, positively glowing with youthful purity and on the other is a wizened crone, hunched and blackened by sin, a wicked queen, or the dreadful fairy Carabossa, seeking to lure the hero-heroine into darkness. The land of the Fae becomes a place of foreboding, gleaming eyes and hidden threats.

The overriding conclusion drawn from this is that people invariably link light with good and darkness with evil, using luminescence as a barometer of virtue. Yet even fairy tales teach that such a barometer is unreliable – the central theme of many fairy tales is that all is not as it appears (a theme markedly similar to that taught by Dualists in connection with the material world). Examples can be found in Rossetti's *Goblin Market*, *Beauty and the Beast*, the frog as a prince, the crone a fairy and so on.

¹ *Olney Hymns*, Hymn 55, St.4.

Readers are encouraged to think for themselves, to make judgements based on actions rather than appearances, disregarding wealth and beauty - this is particularly true of Thackeray's moralising Christmas tale *The Rose and the Ring*, 1855. Wilde's novel *Dorian Gray* is predicated upon a similar misconception, arising in part out of the Victorian aesthetic movement, whose apparent veneration of beauty was in itself arguably a reaction to the Medieval and Puritan repudiation of physical attraction as a diabolic snare (again a concept familiar to Dualists). As with the biblical Satan, fairytale evil often seeks to cloak its betraying darkness under the false glamour of alluring light. Beauty and light become deceitful indicators of virtue. Fairyland was often portrayed as a seductive den of sensuality and magic that encouraged indolence and lust, closely resembling Hieronymous Bosch's *Garden of Earthly Delights*. The rulers of these lands and their procurers, as with all who seek to seduce, are obliged to rely on their own attractions to snare their prey. They present themselves as glamorous figures, such as the Snow Queen and multiple wicked Stepmothers, whose successes rely on superficial attractions, cloaking the degenerate corruption beneath. Fairyland and its entrancing inhabitants present a sort of lotus-eaters' hell for the whimsically inclined.

Scholars have often commented upon the 'demonic element in beauty, which blinds the eyes and seduces men',² and this is why many noted theologians have warned against temptations clothed in 'gay fine colours that are but skin deep'.³ People have frequently been suspicious of unusual physical perfection particularly in Christianity, where the duplicity of Satan has long been expounded upon. Indeed Paul warns of the devil's ability to hide himself behind the guise of an angel of light, and of his minions' similar disguises, 2Cor 11:14-15. However, this suspicion increased exponentially with the advent of the Reformation, with its condemnation of 'art and artifice' which are 'correspondingly reviled' as sinful.⁴ The sixteenth-century writer George Puttenham derided the feminine obsession for 'a very ridiculous bewtie' as it not only inspired vanity but also masked one's true nature and appearance.⁵ All deceit was to be abhorred as it was thought to be incited by the Devil. Proverbs 31:30

² J.A. Martin, *Beauty and Holiness* (Princeton University Press, 1990), p.11.

³ M. Henry, *Commentary*, p.8.

⁴ F. Dolan, 'Taking the Pencil out of God's Hand', p.229.

⁵ G. Puttenham, 'The Art of the English Posie', cited in F. Dolan, 'Taking the Pencil out of God's Hand', p.227.

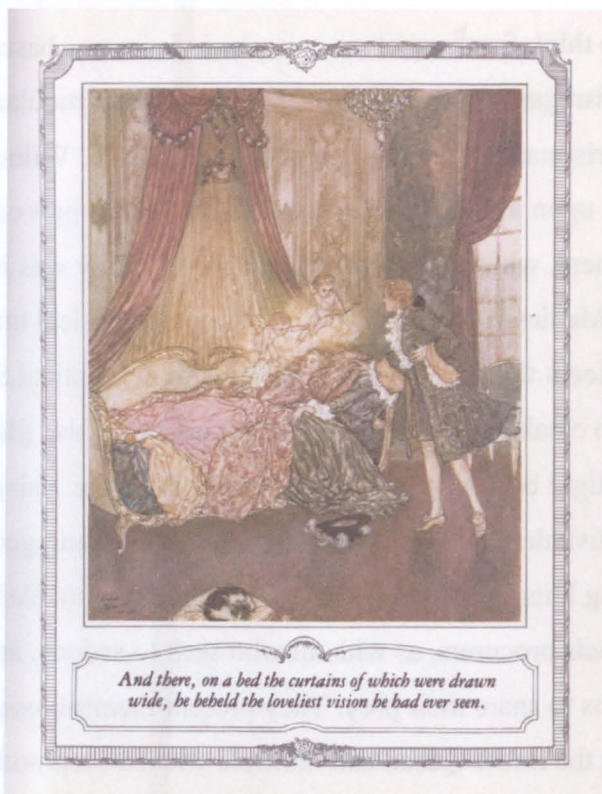


Figure 71: Illustration for *Sleeping Beauty*.



Figure 72: Illustration for *Sleeping Beauty*, the Fairy Godmothers' Gifts.

encapsulates Puritanical views of beauty, warning that ‘charm is deceitful and beauty is vain’. In his discussion of Proverbs 31:30, Scott criticises beauty on the grounds that it ‘often covers and augments the deformity of a worthless mind’, subsequently likening this to a fish being ‘enticed by the delusive morsel that covered the hook’.⁶ Milton uses the character of Satan to show how apparent beauty can conceal a sinful aspect, creating an atmosphere of falsehood around the ‘fraudulent impostor foul’.⁷ Milton constantly reiterates Satan’s ‘sly circumspection’ and ‘false guile’,⁸ encouraging the reader to suspect him no matter what guise he has donned.⁹

Byron seeks to encourage a similar reader-awareness of the disparity between appearance and reality in much of his poetry. He utilises the traditional symbolism of his readership and subverts it. This forces readers to abandon their conventional associations concerning light and dark and base their assessments of morality on the actions. As with the fairy tales, Byron’s works seek to encourage the reader to look behind the outer shell to the inner morality. In this Byron appears to be a typically Orthodox Calvinist poet – Bunyan and Spenser’s allegories contain similar warnings about false piety and the veneer of virtue. However unlike these Calvinist stalwarts, Byron’s deceivers are none other than the Church, her clergy and occasionally, her God – or at least, the figure depicted as God. He seeks to undermine traditional Christian assumptions concerning light as a reflection of Divine goodness and questions whether Godliness and goodness are *necessarily* synonymous with each other, let alone with light. Byron uses a variety of methods, many of which are based on Dualist techniques. Arguably his seditious stance towards the Orthodox status quo is part of the very nature of the Dualist faiths, whether it be monotheistic Zoroastrianism or medieval Catharism. Byron’s assault on Calvinism, its God, clergy and adherents is therefore of a piece with Dualist traditions and practises.

⁶ T. Scott, *On The Holy Bible*, Epistle of James 1:14.

⁷ *PL* III.692.

⁸ *PL* IV.538; IX 1.104.

⁹ *PL* IV.123; III.634-639.

SECTION ONE: 'The basis of your religion is injustice'¹⁰

How oft amidst

Thick clouds and dark doth heaven's all ruling Sire

Choose to reside, His glory unobscured.

And with the majesty of darkness round

Covers his throne, from whence deep thunders roar,

Mustering their rage, and heaven resembles a hell.

Milton, *Paradise Lost*.¹¹

Byron's Challenge: 'all the bullies on earth shall not prevent me from writing what I like'¹²

The vilification of Byron in articles, poems, letters and even sermons is practically a genre in itself. A number of attacks focus on his debauched lifestyle, still more condemn the heretical allusions in his poetry. However, the most vituperative denunciations deal with his use of heresy to castigate Calvinism, undermine the Church and question God's Justice. There are literally hundreds of these invectives, cumulatively providing unassailable proof of Byron's use of heretical doctrines to challenge Orthodox traditions.¹³ As Ryan notes, 'Byron frightened and angered the religious establishment more than any other poet of the time'.¹⁴ Perhaps the most notorious is Robert Southey's 'Satanic School' tirade in which he denounces the 'monstrous combinations of horrors and mockery, lewdness and impiety' which have 'polluted' English poetry. He attributes this 'moral virus' to 'men of diseased hearts and depraved imaginations', led by Byron to rebel against 'revealed religion'.¹⁵

Byron's responses to these attacks were equally inflammatory, exemplified by the above title, which displays Byron's perception of Church and State as oppressive 'bullies'. Another example of this outspoken challenge can be found in *Don Juan* Canto XIV where Byron seems to be almost revelling in the thunderous 'pious libels'

¹⁰ BLJ II.97.

¹¹ PL II.63-68.

¹² MacCarthy, *Byron*, p.xiv.

¹³ Byron noted that '*Cain* has raised such an outcry against me from bigots in every quarter, both in the church and out of the church, and they have stamped me an infidel without mercy and without ceremony', Kennedy, p. 117.

¹⁴ Ryan, *Romantic Reformation*, p.148.

¹⁵ R. Southey, 'On *Don Juan* and the Satanic School of Poetry', in Rutherford, *Critical Heritage*, pp. 179-181.

of 'the Clergy', the condemnation of 'this world' and his damnation in the next.¹⁶ Perhaps the most interesting passage appears in an 1822 letter from Byron to his friend, and general factotum in England, Douglas Kinnaird:

As to myself, I shall not be deterred by any outcry; your present public hate me, but they shall not interrupt the march of my mind, nor prevent me from telling those who are attempting to trample on all thought, that their thrones shall yet be rocked to their foundations.¹⁷

Byron justifies the provocative polemic underlying much of his work. He attacks Southey's 'revealed religion' because he perceives it to be founded on injustice and enforced ignorance. In his work on *Cain*, Steffan concludes that 'for men like Byron, Lucifer and Cain, rebellion against the social, political and theological system was imperative'.¹⁸

One final point should be raised here before focusing on the actual methods Byron used to challenge and undermine Orthodox traditions, and that is the importance of the medium he used to transmit his opinions. Literature has long been the favoured avenue of dissent. Darnton's work on the banned books of eighteenth-century France examines this concept, arguing that:

Forbidden books moulded the public in two ways: by fixing disaffection in print (preserving and spreading the word), and by fitting it into narratives (transforming loose talk into coherent discourse).¹⁹

Byron's use of poetry to communicate his dissent places him within the wider context of subversive writers. The Patristics often considered individual scriptural interpretation and the writing of myth to be proof of heretical Dualistic inclinations.²⁰ Moreover, poetry has long been acknowledged as a more accessible medium for bringing religion to those who dislike sermons, as Coulson argues, 'beliefs are [...] most convincingly expressed when they are given secular meanings' and 'translated into the language of literary imagination'.²¹ Byron's unorthodoxy is thus extremely

¹⁶ DJ XIV.10.

¹⁷ BLJ VI.140.

¹⁸ Steffan, *Byron's Cain*, p.49.

¹⁹ Darnton, *Forbidden Bestsellers*, p.191.

²⁰ W.H. Rambart and A. Roberts trans., *The Writings of St. Irenaeus Against Heresies* (London: Kissinger Publishing, 2004), p.326.

²¹ J. Coulson, *Religion and Imagination* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), p.4.



Figure 73: 'The Simoniac Pope' by William Blake. In Dante's *Inferno* the majority of the sins against God are punished with fire, as if penal hell-fire is His direct response. The punishment for Simony whereby those who take money in exchange for absolution which only God can grant are upended and have flames dancing on their feet is an example of this.

Orthodox in some respects and also the best possible medium for disseminating his opinions.

The religious anthropologist Geertz describes religion as a:

System of symbols which acts to establish powerful, pervasive and long-lasting moods and motivations in men by formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic.²²

Bowie argues that the role of a religious anthropologist is to examine the manner in which the symbols and rituals associated with the sacred operate within society and affect its ethical values.²³ Bowie and Geertz express a similar mission statement to that of this Section, which aims to examine and evaluate the methods by which Byron utilises the religious symbols and rituals of nineteenth-century Christian society in order to strip away their inherent moral associations, replacing them with alternative, Dualistically-influenced ideologies. He takes Geertz's 'system of symbols' and replaces the existing formulated 'conceptions' with new inverted interpretations.

The main focus of Byron's censure are those conceptions surrounding Calvinism where men are allegedly nominally free, yet doomed to sin and God is apparently just and merciful, yet causes the majority of humanity to suffer in sin and endure eternal damnation. This is particularly true of the drama *Cain* where Byron twists the usual markers of morality, forcing his readers to experience a confusion paralleling that of Cain as he struggles to determine who is good and who is evil in his world. As with fairy tales, the Byron reader is often unsure of the distinction between appearance and reality. This 'sense of the inadequate fit between the real and the apparent, heaven and earth' is often seen as a central facet of Romanticism.²⁴

The reading audience will often be trapped by their own preconceptions, determined by personal, social and institutional circumstances, an infinite range of influencing factors usually beyond an author's control or comprehension. However, Byron appears to have had an unusually coherent and detailed understanding of what

²² C. Geertz, *Interpretation of Cultures*, in Bowie, *Anthropology of Religion*, p.20.

²³ Bowie, *Anthropology of Religion*, p.35.

²⁴ D. Simpson, 'Romanticism, Criticism, Theory', *Cambridge Companion to British Romanticism*, ed. S. Curran (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p.9.

made his readers tick, of the inherent assumptions and formulated conceptions which they would almost subconsciously apply to his poetry. It is this understanding which allows him to undermine those very conceptions with such subtlety, leaving the reader with none of the traditional associations with which to assess the moral worth of any of the characters, forced to base valuations on actions rather than signs.

Byron's works frequently encourage the reader to acknowledge the difference between false illusion and truth. This can be seen even in his early poems, such as 'Oscar of Alva, a Tale', where 'dark-haired Oscar' with his 'sable-plumes' is brave and true, owning 'a hero's soul',²⁵ and his 'fair-haired' brother Allan is a beautiful youth with 'golden locks' whose jealousy drives him to commit fratricide.²⁶ Although his 'face was wondrous fair', the narrator warns that Allen's soul was 'unworthy with such charms to dwell'.²⁷ The poem cautions that his 'soul belied his form',²⁸ undermining the popular assumption that beauty and blondness are indicative of purity, while darkness is proof of damnation. The poem repeatedly contrasts these visual opposites. Byron's mistress Teresa claims he scorned 'the appearance of virtue put on only for the purpose of reaping advantages'.²⁹ Many of his poems reflect that disgust.

The role of 'myth' plays an important part in understanding how Byron creates this sense of the disparity between appearance and reality, placing his works within the wider context of the nineteenth-century literary use of myth to undermine the status quo. One of the most interesting uses of myth particularly in relation to Byron, given his works *Cain* and *Heaven and Earth*, is the reinterpretation and frequent re-use and adaptation of the Genesis narrative. Acosta's book is especially informative, as she examines the 'complex ways' in which the 'traditional authority' of Genesis continued to influence numerous writers in a surprisingly non-secular manner, despite their increasingly secular aims.³⁰ Myth was given a more functional role, no longer

²⁵ 'Oscar of Alva' ll.9, 16, 17, 7.

²⁶ 'Oscar of Alva' ll. 40, 41, 16.

²⁷ 'Oscar of Alva' St.41, 19.

²⁸ 'Oscar of Alva' ll. 19, 72.

²⁹ Guiccioli, I, p.86.

³⁰ A. Acosta, *Reading Genesis in the Long Eighteenth Century* (Hampshire, Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2006); the Romantic appropriation of the OT is also discussed in M. Roston, *Prophet & Poet: The Bible and the Growth of Romanticism* (London: Faber & Faber, 1965).

limited to canonical Scripture – as Byron’s use of the apocryphal Book of Enoch, his understanding of various Dualist aetiological myths and even some pseudapigraphal texts demonstrates. ‘Mythopoesis’ is defined as the transposition of the myth (which actually occurred) to a symbolic place with a symbolic meaning.³¹ Myth thus provides a context within which people and events can be examined, divorced from their actual setting. The Romantic appropriation of myth has been alluded to by a number of critics. Stauffer perceives the rebellion of Blake’s Orc, Shelley’s Prometheus and Byron’s Cain to be characteristic of a larger ‘Spirit of the Age’, which strives to overthrow tyranny.³² All these examples are based on some sort of mythological tale – emphasising one of the central uses of myth in this period, namely as a subversive means of expressing rebellion against the tyranny of Church and State. Butler’s essay in *The Sun is God* addresses the use of myth to discredit Christianity; the book contains a number of other examinations of the Romantic fascination with myth.³³ Cantor, Ryan and Bloom also examine Romantic myth-making to various extents.³⁴

Man as ‘a creator of signs’: Traditional Symbolism³⁵

Byron used a variety of means to both conceal and reveal his frequent inversions and reinterpretations, giving his poetry a greater ambiguity than the works of many of his peers. He understood the disparity between appearance and reality – as indicated by his astute grasp of the mechanics of publicity and what would now be called ‘spin’. This innate appreciation of the potential uses of illusion and misrepresentation gives his poetry an added complexity.

Byron’s inversion of traditional symbolism, such as in the case of ‘Oscar of Alva’, is a typical characteristic of Dualist attacks against Orthodox Christianity and its God. As with Byron’s works, Dualist inversions often hinge on the use of light and dark. The Bogomil-influenced Cathar teachings relied on fairly orthodox symbolism as Alan of Lille discusses in his twelfth-century commentary:

³¹ H. Slochower, *Mythopoesis* (Detroit: 1970), p.15.

³² A. Stauffer, *Anger, Revolution and Romanticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p.3.

³³ Butler, ‘Romantic Manichaeism’, in Bullen ed., *Sun is God*, pp.13-37; see also ‘Myth and Mythmaking in the Shelley Circle’, *ELH*, 49, (1982), pp.50-72.

³⁴ Cantor, *Creature & Creator*; Bloom, *Visionary Company*; *Poetry and Repression*; *Ruin: the Sacred Truths*; Ryan, *Romantic Reformation*.

³⁵ Satre, *Search for Method*, cited in L. Claridge, *Romantic Potency: The Paradox of Desire* (London: Cornell University Press, 1992), p.244.

The principle of light, they say, is God, from whom are spiritual things, to wit, souls and angels. The principle of darkness, Lucifer, is he from whom are temporal things.³⁶

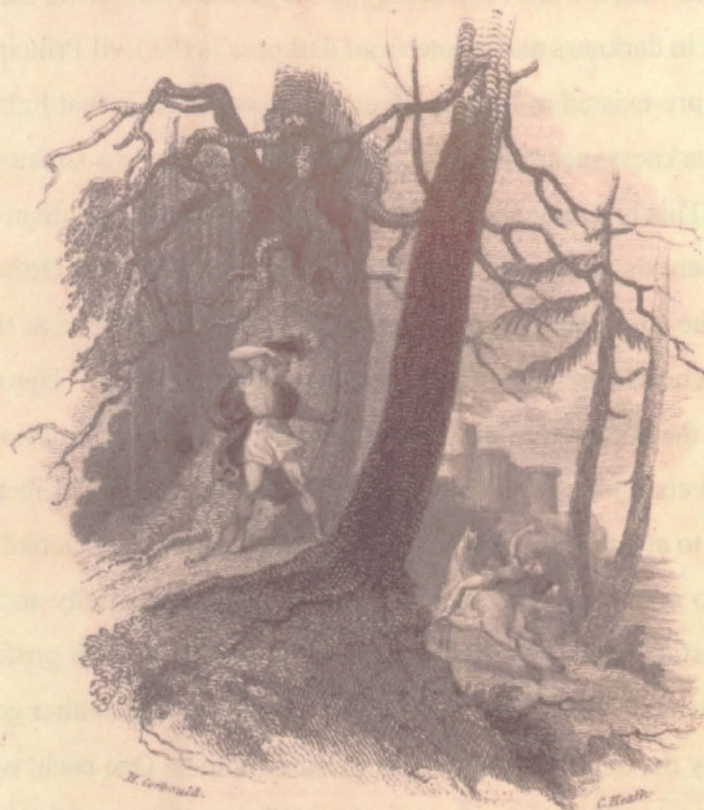
This all seems fairly straightforward; light is inherently good and divine, while darkness is evil and corrupts all corporeal matter. However the issue is complicated by the Cathar interpretation of Genesis 1.2, 'out of the darkness on the deep he did make light on the waters with a word'. According to the above symbolism, the only being who would exist in darkness and create from darkness is the Evil Principle. A good God would have pre-existed in light and created the world from that light. Creation in and from darkness means the whole temporal world and its Creator are comprehensively evil. This is a reinterpretation of traditional light-symbolism in conjunction with the Genesis narrative, resulting in the utter inversion of Orthodox teachings concerning the Creation. At the same time it could be perceived as the most literal reading of the Genesis narrative. It is typical of Dualist methods.³⁷ Byron was not the only one to see the potential of the Dualist concept of cyclical dominion with its possibilities for subversion – a number of French Revolutionaries and Liberal radicals also utilised it to attack Church and State. Revolutionaries took actual events and displaced them into mythological contexts, then insinuated the cruelty and viciousness of the Christian God and his clergy, utterly at odds with their professed benevolence. This allowed them to argue that the Christian God was neither good nor all-powerful, but simply the depraved creation of diseased minds. One such, which actually lauded Dualism, was Volney's aforementioned *Ruins*. This work had a great impact on Shelley, Peacock, and to a certain extent on Byron, not only providing a source of information, but also an example of Dualist reinterpretation in practice.

Byron takes Dualistic inversion to a new level of complexity, far in advance of his contemporaries and even of those extant Dualist texts. There is a level of fluidity to his work, an ambiguity arising from the fact that unlike Dualist works, his poems do not simply take traditional light-dark symbolism and reinterpret it but actually seek to challenge and undermine that symbolism itself. No longer is dark always a sign of evil and light permanently representative of good. Sometimes Satan's darkness is

³⁶ Wakefield and Evans, p.215.

³⁷ Gnostics 'disregard the order and connection of Scriptures [...] transferring passages and dressing them up anew, and making one thing out of another', *Adv. Haer.* 1.8.

DON JUAN, COMPLETE:
ENGLISH BARDS AND SCOTCH REVIEWERS:
HOURS OF IDLENESS, THE WALTZ;
AND ALL THE OTHER MINOR POEMS OF
LORD BYRON.



Hours of Idleness.
Stanza of line, verse 23.

London:

ENGRAVED FOR DODGE'S ENGLISH CLASSICS.

Figure 74: Frontispiece for *Don Juan*, by Charles Heath after Henry Corbould.³⁶

³⁶ From the British Museum.

proof of his goodness, yet at the same time God's concealing clouds indicate His malice and hell's infernal firelight testifies to His bloodlust.

A number of critics have briefly commented on this aspect of Byron's poetry, but none have provided a comprehensive analysis, nor have they fully understood and addressed the impact of Byron's knowledge and appropriation of Dualist methods and teachings.³⁸ Moreover, the theme of light and dark has been almost entirely neglected with the exception of Payne's book *Dark Imaginings: Ideology and Darkness in the Poetry of Lord Byron* which ignores the majority of the subversive undercurrents inherent in Byron's use of darkness. Although he acknowledges that 'darkness under Byron's influence' is both threatening and 'can imbue an object or person with power and value', Payne focuses on gender, sexuality and race rather than religion.³⁹ He dismisses the presence of darkness in some poems as 'a symbol empty of any substantive meaning' – an assessment that ignores the multiple subtle nuances in the poems.⁴⁰ Byron's recent biographer MacCarthy makes a more perceptive comment concerning *Childe Harold* as being 'compulsively, convincingly subversive' and the first in a long line of poems seeking 'the subversion of authority', an aim that Byron also pursued through his use of light and dark.⁴¹

To assess the means and manner by which Byron achieves this subversion of traditional symbolism in order to attack Calvinism, the exact nature of that symbolism needs to be understood. Praz argues that it is important to:

[K]eep in mind the character of the period in which the work was produced, in such a way as to avoid the danger of a combination of words, sounds, colours or forms becoming surreptitiously invested with ideas which are aroused in the mind of the interpreter, but which did not exist in the mind of the artist.⁴²

To this might be added 'or in the mind of the contemporary reader'. However, the reverse of this is also true. It is arguably equally important to try and understand those ideas and connotations which existed in the public consciousness of the period, which writers understood and capitalised on (in a similar manner to the pictorial language of

³⁸ In particular Cantor, *Creature & Creator* and Butler's aforementioned articles.

³⁹ G. Payne, *Dark Imaginings: Ideology and Darkness in the Poetry of Lord Byron* (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2008), p.24.

⁴⁰ Payne, *Dark Imaginings*, p.258.

⁴¹ MacCarthy, *Byron*, p.158.

⁴² M. Praz, *The Romantic Agony* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), p.3.

symbols used in Flemish Renaissance painting). This is harder to do in this less Christianised era, in a period when literary criticism often actively ignores the underlying religious themes inherent within many works, as discussed in the initial Introduction to this thesis.

The *Etymologies* of the seventh-century writer Isidore of Seville (560-636) contains one of the most influential Christian explanations of the nature of light. His work was a foundation text for Medieval Church doctrine:

Light [*lux*] is the substance itself, while illumination [*lumen*] is so called because it emanates from light [*a luce manare*], that is, it is the brightness (or whiteness) of light [*lux*].⁴³

The differentiation between *lux* and *lumen* is an interesting one which will be examined later on. Light, whether *lumen* or *lux*, was a problematical concept for Christians, given their persistent association of divinity with light. After all how can the divine light of God be seen 'with the eyes of the flesh'? Even if the sun was created by God, its light is not divine, and does 'not enlighten all of man, but the body of man and his mortal eyes'.⁴⁴ In order to reconcile this complex issue, theologians such as Augustine sought to differentiate between God's created light and the light of God Himself. The works of Aquinas, Grossteste and Bonaventure also contain various hierarchies of light, differentiating between the visible, material light of the sun, or its rays, and the divine light which is the light of revelation in which God dwells.⁴⁵ They explicitly linked light with religious faith, piety and God Himself. Light becomes the 'ideal of luminescence' indicating goodness, Godliness and beauty

God as light is a tradition almost as old as humanity. The concept of God's presence as a dazzling fire occurs frequently in Scripture. Often termed *Kābōd*, it is 'the heavenly light [...] in which glory is clothed', (see Exodus 24.16, Ezekiel 38.18, Isaiah 6.3). Calvinism places a similar emphasis on light as a mark of divinity. This

⁴³ *Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, trans. S. Barney, W. Lewis and J. Beach (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), XIII x.14, p.274.

⁴⁴ Augustine, *On Genesis*, trans. R.J. Teske (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1991), p.53.

⁴⁵ Augustine and Aquinas differentiate between sunlight which illuminates objects so we can see them, and divine light which illuminates ideas so we can understand them. The light or reason is thus the lowest level of access to God. W.H. Trapnell, 'The treatment of Christian Doctrine by Philosophers of the Natural Light from Descartes to Berkley', *SVEC*, 252, (1988), pp. 1-217.

can be seen in the mottos of the Calvinist Genevan Church: *Après les ténèbres, la lumière* (after the shadows, the light) and *post tenebras lux* (after shadow light).⁴⁶ Returning to Isidore's definitions, *lux* can be interpreted as the light of God, 'the substance itself', while *lumen* is the reflected or created light, 'so called because it emanates from light'. Thus *lumen* is a reflection of divine light refracted through an object such as the sun. However, it also provides a deeper understanding of the idea of Christ as God's representative, found in John 8.12, he is 'the light of life', God's Word incarnate. Those who see the light of Christ are able to look through him to the true Light of God. Thus we have *lux*, *lumen*, material light, divine revelatory light, and the assumption that God *is* the sun.

Although these theological treatises on light were largely obsolete by Byron's time due to scientific advances by thinkers such as Bacon and Newton, who understood the concepts of refraction and the speed of light, the religious connotations, associating Divinity with Light, remained. Arguably, Newton's discoveries concerning the refraction of light further undermined the traditional symbolism of God as Light, because it challenged the notion of light as a single pure entity (which was after all one reason behind its adoption as the emblem of God).⁴⁷ Whereas darkness is primal, existing without need of creation, therefore it is powerful – arguably more so than light, which is created. Scientific advances seem to have had little impact on the Christianised symbolism of God as light. Evidence of this can be found in the collection of hymns by the devout Calvinist, William Cowper. The below quotation is from one of his *Olney Hymns*, the stanzas following a deeply evocative depiction of the pain and anguished misery of Despair:

I see, or think I see,
A glimmering from afar;
A beam of day, that shines for me,
To save me from despair.

Forerunner of the sun,
It marks the pilgrim's way;

⁴⁶ P. Mason, 'The Communion of Citizens: Calvinist Themes in Rousseau's Theory of State', *Polity*, 26, (1993), p.28.

⁴⁷ I. Newton, *Opticks: or a Treatise of the Reflections, Refractions, Inflections and Colours of Light* (London: Sam Smith, 1704).

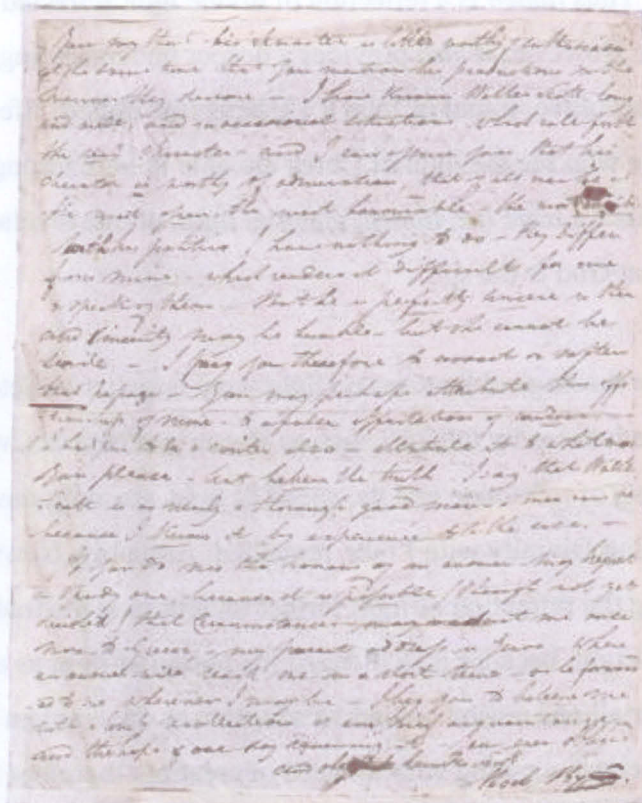


Figure 75: A fragment of a letter from Byron to Henri Beyle concerning Walter Scott, whom Byron greatly admired:

I have known Walter Scott, long and well, and in occasional situations which call forth *real* character – and I can assure you that his character *is* worthy of admiration, that of all men he is the most *open*, the most *honourable* - the most *amiable*.

(BLJ X.189-190).³⁷

³⁷ From the Sotheby's Sale Catalogue, Sale LO9777, Lot 77.

I'll gaze upon it while I run,
And watch the rising day.

The first person narrative of the hymn lends it a personalized immediacy. This renders the relief at the sight of a distant 'glimmering' promise of hope and Grace extremely intense. The joy inspired by the idea that the 'beam of day' shines solely for 'me' creates a feeling of happiness and the sense of being loved and accepted by God. This is heightened by the terror of the preceding verses. The buoyancy of the closing lines, the active, unfettered energy conveyed by the description of running towards the rising sun signals the banishment of Despair with its fatalistic apathy and dark fears. The final line has connotations of hope and respite, safe in the light of God's love.⁴⁸ Throughout these lines the light imagery represents God, salvation and respite from the agonies of Religious Despair. Cowper's hymn provides an excellent example of the traditional Calvinist association of light with God.

As Bostetter notes, the dominance of Christian thoughts and beliefs in public consciousness had an inevitable effect on the poetry of the period.⁴⁹ Of particular relevance for this discussion are the Calvinist works of Milton and Scott – both of whom Byron was familiar with.⁵⁰ Scott was, after all, an object of admiration for Byron who claimed to have read 'all of Walter Scott's novels at least fifty-two times' and believed him to be 'the most wonderful writer of the day', whose 'poetry is as good as any – if not better'.⁵¹ They are especially important given the widespread impact of the former and the Scottish heritage of the latter. Moreover, while *Paradise Lost* focuses more on specific light and dark imagery, Scott's poetry is more interesting for its use of hair and skin colouring as an index to virtue.

Milton frequently depicts God using light imagery. In the first seven lines of Book III, 'God is light', a 'Holy light', an 'unapproached light', a 'pure ethereal stream' and 'bright effluence of bright essence'. This overwhelming barrage of light

⁴⁸ *Olney Hymns in Three Books* (London: James Duncan, 1825).

⁴⁹ E. Bostetter, 'Byron and the Politics of Paradise', *PMLA*, 75, (1960), p.571.

⁵⁰ On *Paradise Lost* as a 'heavy concern; but the two first books of it are the very finest poetry that has ever been produced in this world'. BLJ IV. 84.

⁵¹ BLJ VIII. 13, 23. Byron praises Scott's works and they corresponded during Byron's self-imposed Continental Exile: BLJ II. 20, 191, 182, 197; BLJ III. 209, 220; BLJ IV. 146, 151, 287; BLJ V. 22; BLJ VII. 45, 48, 69-70, 75, 83, 113, 200, 207, 212, 225; BLJ VIII. 33, 46, 88, 112, 219, 228; BLJ IX. 85-87. He praises Scott frequently to Lady Blessington, pp.55-57.

imagery forcefully communicates God's glowing Glory. Milton uses Divine light to signify God's purity and spirituality. The use of 'unapproached' further intimates that Man is neither pure nor spiritual and therefore lacking the light, and associated divinity, which would allow him to approach God. It is also a reference to 1 Timothy 6.16, which reinforces the impression of the distance of God contrasted with the unworthiness of man. Satan's beautifully described descent into sin is subtly revealed by the gradual loss of celestial light throughout the epic.⁵² Not only is his form 'marred' as evil 'dimmed his face',⁵³ but his very words are performed against the backdrop of his declining power and glory. He is reduced from making impassioned sunlit speeches to sullen rants by starlight.

Walter Scott's poems provide a second set of examples of the Orthodox perceptions of light and dark as emblems of good and evil. In what Ruskin perceived as an almost painterly use of light and colour,⁵⁴ Scott uses red, black, and darkness to create an ominous atmosphere and an apprehension of death. This is particularly true of *Marmion* and *Lady of the Lake*, while in *Rokeby* and *Lord of the Isles* imminent disaster is frequently signified by the darkness of glooming skies, while tarnished light presages catastrophe.⁵⁵ Dark-haired characters are mad, depressed or guilty, such as Odin in *Harold the Dauntless*. Fair-haired figures are always the heroes and light is generally associated with truth, realisation and goodness.⁵⁶

As mentioned earlier, the association of blondness with moral purity is traditional in Calvinist works. Carpenter notes this in his article 'Puritans Prefer Blonds' in which he states that 'blondness is an ideal virtue and darkness a serious and sometimes unforgivable sin'.⁵⁷ Although focusing on American writers, the argument is equally applicable to Anglican Protestants and Scottish Calvinists, as can be seen from the

⁵² PL X.450-452; I.591-600.

⁵³ PL IV.15-20.

⁵⁴ Cited in A. Guest, 'Imagery of Colour and Light in Scott's Narrative Poems', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 12, (1972), p.705.

⁵⁵ Byron equally aware of Scott's poetry as of his novels. He mentions *Lady of the Lake* in BLJ II. 20, 182; *Marmion* in BLJ II. 182; BLJ V. 22; Appendix 3, numbers 340 and 341; and *Rokeby* in BLJ II. 191, 197; BLJ III. 209 amongst others. See also Appendix 2, numbers 230, 231, 232; Appendix 3, numbers 286, 287, 280.

⁵⁶ Guest, 'Imagery of Colour and Light', pp.705-720.

⁵⁷ F.I. Carpenter, 'Puritans Prefer Blondes. The Heroines of Melville and Hawthorne', *New England Quarterly*, 9, (1936), pp. 254. See also E. Berne, 'The Mythology of Dark and Fair: Psychiatric Use of Folklore', *Journal of American Folklore*, 72, (1959), pp.1-13.

brief examination of Scott's poetry. It is this assumption which Byron challenges in his poem 'Oscar of Alva' and also in another early work 'The Deaths of Calmar and Orla'.

The association of darkness with evil needs little extrapolation. However it is worth noting that darkness has long been seen as an emblem of sin and heresy. Renaissance paintings often portrayed heretics with dark skin, this was particularly true of the third of the three kings, Balthazar, who is generally taken as representing heresy.⁵⁸ This is doubly interesting given that the three Kings are described as 'magians' in the Bible, which is the term for the Zoroastrian priesthood. Therefore there is a tradition explicitly linking Dualism with darkness and dark skin. Eleventh-century European Dualists were described as being led by an Ethiopian.⁵⁹ The devil is often portrayed as being black-skinned, an Ethiopian or a Moor.⁶⁰ One fourteenth-century treatise on physiognomy describes how a person 'who is dark black or earth-like' inclines 'towards moral defects and lusts in particular'.⁶¹ A fifteenth-century text contains a similar view of 'black skin' as indicative of corruption.⁶² Interestingly the Mark of Cain is also often described as consisting of black skin,⁶³ and Cain is traditionally associated with darkness and the night, an inevitable concomitant perhaps of his reprobation, forever separated from God. Here again can be seen the assumption that just as light is a sign of Divine Grace, so darkness is indicative of the absence of Grace. This is akin to the Calvinist conviction that physical perfection is a mark of Divine approbation while deformity and disease are proof of sin and reprobation. One example which Byron was probably familiar with given his frequent mentions of the play can be found in Bolingbroke's speech to Exeter in Shakespeare's *Richard III*:

With Cain go wander through shades of night
And never show thy head by day nor light.⁶⁴

⁵⁸ Y. Pinson, 'Connotations of Sin and Heresy in the Figure of the Black King in Some Northern Renaissance Adorations', *Artibus et Historiae*, 17, (1996), pp. 159-175.

⁵⁹ Ademar of Chabbanes, Wakefield and Evans p.75.

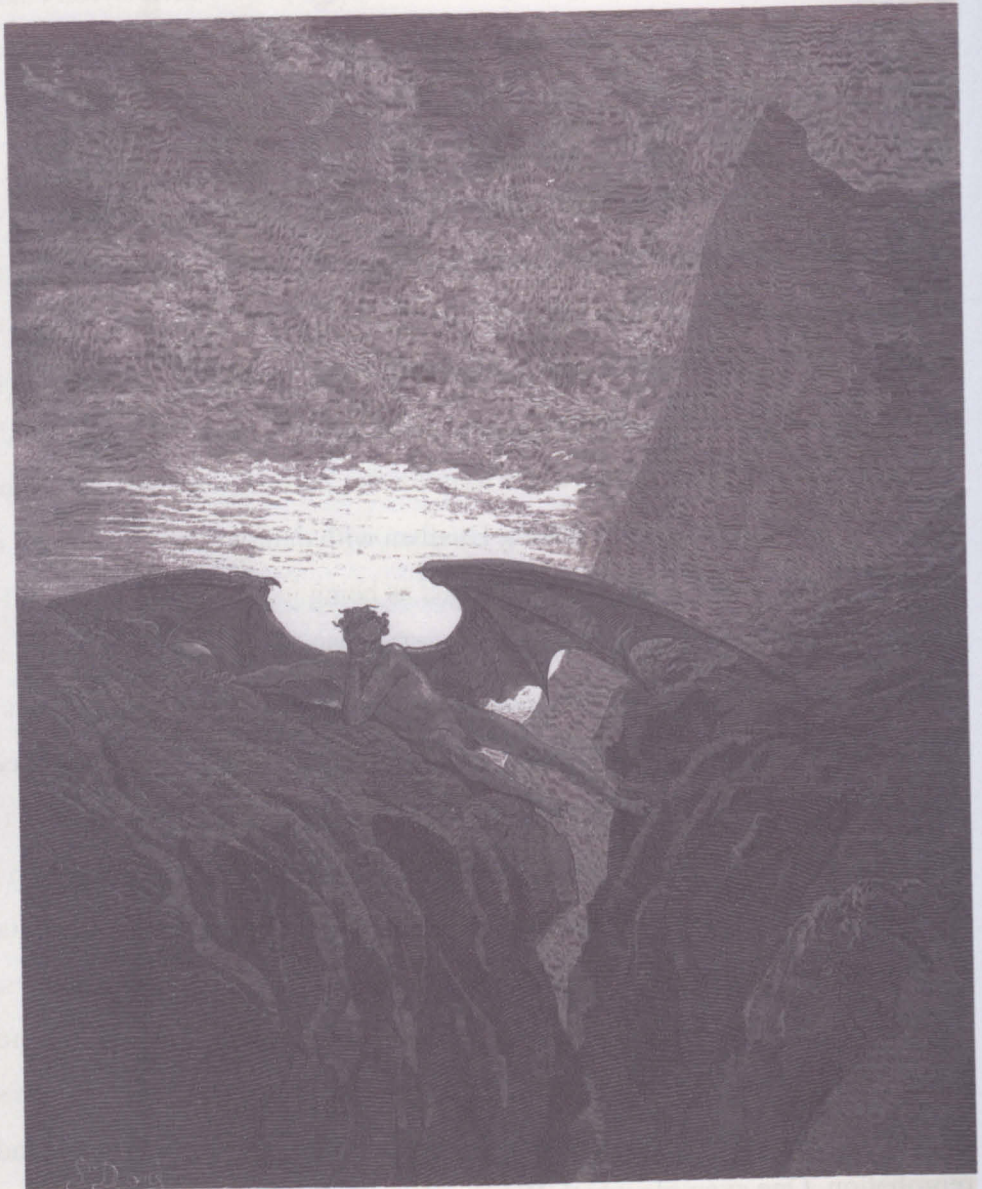
⁶⁰ M. Rudwin, *The Devil in Legend and Literature* (London: Open Court Publishing, 1931), p.45.

⁶¹ Pinson, 'Figure of the Black King', p. 160.

⁶² D. Bax, *Hieronymous Bosch: His Picture Writing Deciphered* (Rotterdam: AA Balkema, 1979), p.190.

⁶³ R. Mellinkoff, *The Mark of Cain* (London: University of California Press, 1981), p.101.

⁶⁴ *Richard III* V.vi.43.



Now Night her course began

Book VI, line 406

Figure 76: Illustration of Satan's physical mutations paralleling his moral degeneration in *Paradise Lost*, by Gustave Dore.

Although this seems fairly straightforward, it is actually a great deal more complex, as this association of darkness with separation from God is not the only tradition associated with Cain. A number of works, including *Inferno*, portray Cain as the man in the moon (often wearing the thorns of purgatorial repentance), linking the 'dusky spots' on the moon with the tale of Cain's sin and exile.⁶⁵ The spotted moon is a sign of corruption, sin darkening the purity of light. Again deformity and disease signify damnation and sin. Moreover, the moon can eclipse the sun. Here Cain is associated with a sort of half light, neither wholly dark nor wholly light.

Similarly, the name 'Lucifer' means light-bringer, a concept alluded to in 2 Corinthians 11.14 and Isaiah 14.12. Byron would have been aware of Lucifer's role as light bringer, not only from his biblical readings, but also because Voltaire discusses it in an entry on Angels in his *Philosophical Dictionary*.⁶⁶ The fact that Byron chose to name his protagonist Lucifer rather than Satan in *Cain* becomes more significant when examining his use of light imagery. The concept of light-bringer can after all be linked with revelatory *gnosis* and the stripping away of darkening delusions. Lucifer is often associated with the stars, specifically the Morning Star, traditionally an emblem of wisdom and purity. Starlight is a gentle ephemeral glow, another form of half light associated with darkness. Lucifer's representation by starlight is thus a possible intimation of his complex nature. A combination of shining virtues and dark flaws Lucifer is not only traditionally the bringer of light but also a Promethean provider of forbidden knowledge to mankind (albeit not necessarily beneficial knowledge). The Pauline assertion that he masquerades as an angel of light provides another layer of ambiguity, concerning both Lucifer and the signification of Light and Dark themselves. The fact that these archetypal figures of evil are associated with both light and darkness within Orthodox tradition allows Byron a far wider scope for subversion. It permits him to utilise the fact that even traditional symbolism is not set in stone, there are ambiguities and inconsistencies which he can exploit while remaining seemingly Orthodox, yet still create a persistent sense of uncertainty and ambivalence in much of his poetry.

⁶⁵ *Inferno* XX.124.

⁶⁶ Voltaire, *Philosophical Dictionary*, I, p.196.

‘The Prince of evil when he wished to make himself God, laid his hand upon them and bound all men in sin’⁶⁷

In order to trace Byron’s appropriation of Dualist inversion tactics, it is necessary first to examine them, with particular reference to those sources that he came into contact with. Cathars used Orthodox light and dark symbolism to argue that the world and its Creator were evil, based on Genesis 1.2. Byron alludes to this doctrine in Adam’s opening lines in *Cain*, associating Jehovah-the-Creator with darkness right from the start.⁶⁸ Another important source and example is Eznik’s Zurvanist myth which utilises similar traditions, drawn from the Zoroastrian traditions that perceive fire as representing Ahura Mazda because it is the purest entity on earth. Conybeare notes that Eznik’s text associates divinity with *autar*, a derivation of the Persian *Ātar* which means both fire and the purity of Ahura Mazda.⁶⁹ Byron depicts this belief in worshiping God through the veneration of sun and fire in *Sardanapalus*:

Oh thou true sun!

Thou burning oracle of all that live,

The fountain of all life, and symbol of

Him who bestows it.⁷⁰

In Eznik’s text, Harminus is born ‘dark and offensive’ because of his evil nature, while Hormistus is ‘bright’ as befits the Good Principle. Harminus is allowed to reign over the earth for ‘nine thousand years’, then Hormistus takes over. The importance of Eznik’s text lies in this concept of cyclical dominion. Which Principle is ruling the world at any given moment? It is impossible to ascertain this as the Evil Principle inevitably has the power to conceal His evil. Moreover, whichever Principle is in power could be the Creator and so have made the sun and all other forms of material light. If it was the Evil Principle, then all creation is tainted by evil and even light ceases to be a sign of goodness. Thus the world was potentially created out of evil by Evil and all material light, both *lux* and *lumen*, is the polluted effusion of a diabolic deity. Light and dark lose their symbolic meanings and only actions provide an indication of the true nature of the current Divinity. All assessment must be based on

⁶⁷ 3Cor v.16-17, Appendix 6.

⁶⁸ *Cain* I.i.2-3.

⁶⁹ Conybeare, *Armenian Church*, pp.388-89.

⁷⁰ *Sardanapalus* II.i.14-17; G. Wilson Knight briefly looks at the role of the sun as God in *Sardanapalus*, though he focuses more on it as representing or covering both sides of the human conflict and telling the future according to the Chaldean mysteries in his essay ‘Simple and Bright’, pp.181-200; Diodorus’ *History* also discusses this practice of using the celestial heavens to prophesise, pp. 120-122.

a posteriori empirical evidence rather than traditional symbolism, again revealing Byron's focus on Reason and reality as opponents of blinding delusive superstitions. This is the key to understanding Byron's own inversions of light and dark in his poems. The sun might well be a god, but which god?

Cyclical dominion is important in tracing and understanding Byron's inversion methods in his poems. Satan becomes the shadow of God, the 'double Mysteries' represent a sort of ying and yang, almost equals, with powers and properties which are the exact inverse of each other. Byron would have known of this concept from a number of sources as it was central not only to Zurvanist Dualism, but also Manichaeism, Bogomilism and Catharism. The latter two in particular used the doctrine in a similar fashion to Byron – to question which Principle the Orthodox Church was founded by and worshipping. These Dualist groups placed an equal emphasis on the importance of repudiating appearances and searching for truth based on the actions of the Deity and His adherents. On the grounds that vice begets vice and only evil encourages evil, they examined the OT and concluded its Deity, who created the world out of darkness, demanded human sacrifices and slaughtered millions in a fit of pique, must be the Bad Principle. Manichaeism is particularly relevant in this context as unlike Catharism and Zurvanism, where Evil reigns for a fixed period of time and is then conquered, Manichaeism is bithestic, with Good and Evil locked in eternal conflict, first one dominating then the other, so there is really no way to determine who is in power at any given time.

Byron's contemporaries were equally intrigued by this notion of cyclical dominion and its potential for undermining God. Cantor argues that this 'sympathy for the devil' was a common denominator in Romantic poetry, which tended to 'raise doubts about the established order of Gods' and rebel against 'the reigning divine power' by recreating the devil as 'the saviour of mankind'.⁷¹ Shelley's notes to *Queen Mab* refer to the Christian God as a 'hypocritical Daemon who announces himself as the God of compassion' yet is drenched in blood.⁷² His *Laon and Cynthia* portrays the Satan figure as the 'Great Spirit of Good' crushed by 'the conquering fiend' and

⁷¹ Cantor, *Creature & Creator*, pp.ix-x.

⁷² *Queen Mab*, Notes.



Figure 77: Mezzotint of Walter Scott, after Henry Raeburn, 1810.³⁸

³⁸ From the British Museum.

forced to become the figurehead for evil.⁷³ Even Wordsworth, a staunch Christian, alludes to the notion that all is not as it seems in *Prelude* where he notes that ‘blasts / From hell came sanctified *like* airs from heaven’ (my emphasis).⁷⁴ The use of the word ‘like’ signifies the false illusion of heavenly sanctification at odds with the reality of hellish depravity. Blake’s poems provide perhaps the most famous and extensive examples of this notion of Evil concealing itself behind a cloak of delusive divinity, misleading both Church and people. Works such as *The Book of Urizen*, *The Four Zoas* and ‘Nobbodaddy’, along with various passages in *Songs of Innocence and Experience* show Blake asserting that the justice of God is a mask for jealousy and bloodlust. Such a God is really Satan. In Peacock’s ‘Ahrimanes’ the narrator is incredulous that any could presume that ‘Oromazes’ would bestow a ‘glance of joy’ on ‘the blood of living victims’ and be pleased ‘to see the death blow hurled’. The narrator argues that the very presence of such altars is proof that:

His reign is past: his rival rules the world.

From Ahrimanes now all power proceeds:

For him the altar burns: for him the victim bleeds.⁷⁵

Peacock was convinced that the current Church and State were the tools of the Evil Principle, albeit unwitting, and he used his awareness of Cathar and Manichean heresies in conjunction with Zoroastrian terminology to publicise his beliefs. His poem provides a fascinating contrast to Byron’s own works – what they insinuate through the subversion of traditional imagery, Peacock just states outright in ‘Ahrimanes’. Although not well received, ‘Ahrimanes’ and *Rhododaphne* were both known to Shelley and by extension to Byron.⁷⁶

One passage in particular vividly conveys the uncertainty caused by the doctrine of cyclical dominion. In this excerpt, a servant of Ahrimanes appears to the hero, Darassah:

But central to the flood of liquid light

A sudden spot its widening orb revealed

⁷³ *Laon and Cynthia* ll.373-378.

⁷⁴ *The Prelude* X.314.

⁷⁵ ‘Ahrimanes’ I.16, from A.B. Young, ‘Ahrimanes by Thomas Love Peacock’, *The Modern Language Review*, 4, (1909), pp. 217-230.

⁷⁶ For more on Shelley and Peacock see the Introduction in Joukovsky, *Letters*, another extremely useful source for the close interaction of the Shelleys with Peacock can be found in *The Journals of Claire Clairmont*, ed. M.C. Stocking (Harvard: HUP, 1968).

Jet black amid the mirrored beams of light
Jet black and round as celtic warriors shield
A sable circle in a silver field.⁷⁷

The 'liquid light' is swept aside by the 'jet black' circle. This is emblematic of the servant's message, namely that the island, and the rest of the world, is no longer under the control of the good Principle, Ohrmazd, but is now the dominion of Ahrimanes, the Evil Principle. The alliterative consonance of 'liquid light' conveys a sense of gentle enveloping softness, akin to the benevolence of Ohrmazd. This is reinforced by the nurturing connotations of 'silver field'. These pleasant images are violently contrasted by the hardness of 'jet black' which implies an obsidian-like gleaming coldness, hinting at the cruel nature of Ahrimanes. The reference to armour and, implicitly, to war reinforces the concept of Ahrimanes as linked to battle and blood, rather than gentle nurture. Peacock's interest in cyclical dominion can also be seen in the speeches of the character Mr TooBad, the Manichean millenarian, who believed that 'the world was [...] given over to the Evil Principle' and therefore preached the 'temporary supremacy of the devil'.⁷⁸ As was noted earlier, Peacock seems to have perceived Byron as adhering to similar views of Ahrimanic rule, based on Peacock's reading of *Manfred*.⁷⁹ That Byron believed that the Calvinist God behind predestined reprobation was the Evil Principle would explain a great deal of his antagonism. Moreover, this belief would provide him with a plausible reason for God's cruelty, while at the same time proffering a means of attacking God and ensuring that others were brought to a realisation of His deception.

Byron's methods for challenging the 'reigning divine power' were more coherent and consistent than those of his peers. He deliberately utilised Dualist inversion tactics and teachings, yet he took it a stage further, as already mentioned, by challenging the very concept of light as divine and darkness as a mark of sin.

The darkness of God: His 'covering of thick clouds'⁸⁰

Dualists essentially claim that the nature of God can be known analogically, the effects revealing the cause. Byron's Lucifer argues something similar when he

⁷⁷ T. Love Peacock, *Ahrimanes* III.1-5, from A.B. Young, 'Ahrimanes by Thomas Love Peacock', *The Modern Language Review*, 4, (1909), pp. 217-230.

⁷⁸ Peacock, *Nightmare Abbey*, pp.13, 25.

⁷⁹ *Ibid*, p.31.

⁸⁰ Psalm 18.11.

encourages Cain to ignore insubstantial words and focus on God's actions, though Cain's conclusion and Aquinas' are radically different. It is this notion of an analogical, *a posteriori* evaluation of God that Byron aims to encourage in his readers by destabilizing their standard marks of morality, forcing them to 'know' God through their experience of this world. Teresa Guiccioli recalls Byron's views on this:

Would power, goodness, infinite perfection, be God's? Certainly not: as we are unable to know him except through a world of imperfections, where good and evil, order and confusion, are mixed together.⁸¹

One of the most convincing ways in which Byron encourages his readers to acknowledge the inconsistency between God's alleged omnibenevolence and what he perceived as His actual malice is through the repeated association of God with darkness, the traditional symbol of evil. By utilising the Dualist doctrines of cyclical dominion and combining them with the Christianised symbolism of darkness as emblematic of sin, Byron seeks to foster doubt and uncertainty in the minds of his readers.

This can be seen most clearly in *Cain* which opens with a clear association of Jehovah with darkness. Thus the poem starts with Adam praising God, 'who out of darkness on the deep didst make / Light on the waters with a word'.⁸² This is a direct transfer from the Genesis narrative, as Byron points out.⁸³ Although Adam is obviously attempting to praise God's powers, the fact that light was made out of darkness is slightly jarring. Surely the light would have been made out of the divine *lux*, after all as Augustine argues, the 'sun is a particle of that light in which God dwells'.⁸⁴ Yet if God made light out of darkness does that not intimate that he dwells in, and is, darkness and the sun is corrupted by evil. From the very start of the drama, the reader is unbalanced by the subversion of traditional symbolism which challenges received assumptions.

⁸¹ Guiccioli, I, p.137. Shelley expresses similar views in *On the Devil and Devils* in which he states that the 'Manichean philosophy respecting the origin and government of the world, if not true is at least conformable to the experience of actual facts [...] which we experience in ourselves and which we perceive in the operations of external things as they affect us, between good and evil', pp.41, 45.

⁸² *Cain* I.i.2-3.

⁸³ 'I have adhered closely to the Old Testament' he states in BLJ VI.16.

⁸⁴ Augustine, *On Genesis*, p.53.



Figure 78: *Adoration of the Magi* by Andrea Mantegna.



Figure 79: Detail from *The Adoration of the Magi*, by Andrea Casali.

Before continuing to analyse Byron's depictions of God as darkness, it is interesting to note that there is in fact a strong biblical tradition linking God with the power of darkness. Examples can be found in Psalm 97:2 which describes how 'Clouds and thick darkness surround him', and also Exodus 20:21, 5:22-23, 2 Samuel 22:10, 1Kings 8:12, 2Chronicles 6:1, Job 22.13-14 and Psalms 18:9, amongst others. In Deuteronomy 4.11, Moses bore witness that Mount Sinai 'blazed with fire to the very heavens, with black clouds and deep darkness', which signified the presence of God. A number of these biblical passages seem to intimate that God's glory is so powerful and overwhelming that he must cloak it, in order to avoid blasting humanity into ashes. Thus darkness becomes a sign of God's sublime power and transcendent ineffability, rather than a marker of darkness and deceit. The epigraph for this Section, taken from *Paradise Lost*, makes a similar point, depicting God as shrouded in 'the majesty of darkness' and 'thick clouds'. However, Milton acknowledges the inherent ambivalence of this image by remarking that because of this 'heaven resembles a hell'.

This ambiguity allows Byron yet another means of undermining his readers' assumptions. Either traditional symbolism stands in which case God's persistent association with darkness, combined with His violence, indicate that the Dualists are right and the OT God is the Evil Principle. Or, alternatively, darkness is not the emblem of wickedness and corruption and its use in literature does not denote diabolic sin and depravity but indicates a Divine power. This reading becomes increasingly plausible in an age where Newtonian physics has proved that light is not a single entity but is comprised of numerous bands of colour, whereas darkness remains pure and strong in its unified blackness. The fact that Scripture frequently refers to God in terms of darkness heightens the ambiguous connotations of the words, allowing Byron to both describe God in a negative fashion and characters such as Lucifer in a positive manner, using the same terminology. Byron's use of darkness in association with God appears to be extremely Orthodox.

However, scriptural associations of God and darkness are not always wholly favourable. There are frequent references to God as darkening the skies and blinding people. Darkness is thus often a mark of divine disfavour and punishment. Just as the ability to *see* the light of God's message is a central theme in Scripture, particularly in

the NT, there is a secondary equally prevalent theme concerning God's deliberate blinding of the wicked so they are unable to see His light and gain redemption, a central tenet of Scottish Calvinism. The most notable of these is perhaps 2 Corinthians 4.4, which describes how:

The God of this world has blinded the minds of unbelievers to keep them from seeing the light of the gospel of the glory of Christ.⁸⁵

Calvinists teach that although technically everyone can read the Bible, God chooses who will be allowed to receive the Holy Spirit and *see* the Word of God, refusing this vision to the reprobate. Refusing the blessing of sight is only a small step down from deliberately blinding the wicked, and has the same result.

The explicit and repeated association of God with blindness is an interesting one in the context of Byron's use of light and dark. In the aforementioned passage from *Childe Harold* Canto IV.127, Byron describes the divine light of reason as trapped and 'bred in darkness'. Although this could be referring to the oppression of Church and State, it could also reflect his comprehension of this aspect of God's vengeance on the wicked, blinded when the light of God's grace is removed from them as punishment for their sins. Alternatively it could point to his understanding of the Dualist exegesis of 2Corinthians 4.4 that it is the false god, the Evil Principle, who prevents Mankind's salvation by encouraging them to feed their material senses and so blind the eyes of the soul. The OT God's punitive blindings are therefore a further example of the fact that He is the Evil Principle. When in *Cain*, Adah admits that she worships a God who she views only through His effects on earth and Cain admits that he 'Ne'er saw him', a Calvinist interpretation would be that their wickedness has resulted in God deliberately blinding them to His presence. The blindness need not be literal, but an expression of the hiddenness of God, who refuses to reveal Himself to sinners. Alternatively this blindness could be proof of Jehovah's evil – deliberately blinding them to truth in a similar fashion to the 'God of this Aeon' in the Manichean Psalm in Chapter Two.

A secondary issue rising out of God's hiddenness is one of the central arguments used by Lucifer to challenge Cain and Adah's mindless acceptance of their

⁸⁵ Also Job 10.22, 18.5-6, Isaiah 44.18.



Figure 80: Thomas Love Peacock, by Henry Wallis.³⁹

³⁹ From the National Portrait Gallery.

parent's views about God. Cain's remark that he has never seen God concludes with the statement that 'I know not if he smiles'.⁸⁶ This intimates that he is unsure whether God is benevolent or is in fact Lucifer's 'Daemon', who 'makes but to destroy'.⁸⁷ While not explicitly associated with darkness, the concept of a concealed God heightens the reader's awareness that we can only know Him through His impact on the world, and implies we should assess him accordingly. The theme of sight is a recurring one in *Cain*. Lucifer constantly urges Cain to ignore his parents' ephemeral words about God (representing clerical preaching) and instead base his opinions on the empirical evidence around him:⁸⁸

Goodness would not make

Evil; and what else hath he made?⁸⁹

Lucifer encourages Cain to ignore illusory words in favour of visible proof, later mocking the 'abasement' of the angels and other 'miserable things' who 'Worship the word' rather than verifiable actions.⁹⁰ Words are represented as unreliable – the deceitful lies of a would-be tyrant. Lucifer's scathing contempt for such mindless acceptance is vividly conveyed by his language. Words such as 'abasement' and 'miserable' create a sense of grovelling subjugation all the more appalling because it seems to be voluntary. By this stage in the drama the more religiously orientated reader's assumptions will already have been shaken by Byron's persistent undermining of Orthodox signifiers. To be faced with such vitriolic contempt for all they have been taught to revere and then to follow Cain as he opts to turn his back on unthinking acceptance in favour of individual thought, would be unsettling. Unlike his blindly obedient family who worship God with the morning sun, Cain admits that when he has looked for God, he has instinctively searched for him in 'shadows' rather than light, 'I have look'd out / In the vast desolate night in search of him'. The language here conjures up an impression of a barren wasteland stretching in every direction, even the heavens are empty of stars and the night is 'desolate' of any form of welcoming light. The implication is that God (if He exists) is similarly cold and empty, as devoid of human emotions as this vast desolation is destitute of life.

⁸⁶ I.ii.350.

⁸⁷ I.ii.207, 268.

⁸⁸ II.ii.278-289.

⁸⁹ I.ii.137-153.

⁹⁰ II.i.8-12.

It is not only *Cain* which bears examination in this discussion. It would be impossible to write on Byron's use of dark imagery without discussing his apocalyptic poem, 'Darkness'. As with other works, it has a number of parallels with biblical texts, most notably those of Revelation, Joel 2.28-32, Psalm 105.28, Isaiah 8.22, Job 18.18 and Matt 24.29-30. The common theme in these passages is the concept of darkness sent by God as the ultimate form of punishment – the wicked being so wholly beyond redemption that they are stripped of every aspect of God's presence, including material light. The very world itself is 'blind and blackening in the moonless air'.⁹¹ Although this therefore utilizes the more mainstream symbolism of light as God and darkness as corruption, the concept of God deliberately causing darkness and destruction realigns Him with Evil. In 'Darkness', there are a number of negative words, 'rayless', 'seasonless, herbless, treeless, menless, lifeless', emphasising the sense of deprivation and abandonment by God.⁹² This apocalyptic work vividly portrays the anguish of those whom He has chosen to punish.⁹³ It is arguable that the extravagance of humanity's suffering at the end of time further accentuates the concept of God as cruel and unjust, particularly given that He has chosen darkness as his tool. Moreover, it is interesting that the title, 'Darkness' is just about the only positive term in the entire poem, reinforcing the sense of it as an almost autonomous entity, a destructive force that is deliberately torturing and destroying the entirety of mankind.

Despite representing the traditional view that the world depends on God and the light of His 'bright sun', the poem can also be read as reflecting the Dualist belief that the world originated in darkness. When even the clouds finally 'perish'd' in the closing lines of the poem, it is revealed that they did not conceal God's light from the world but His 'Darkness'. In the context of the utter wholesale destruction of life, the concept of God as dark rather than light is unsurprising and the image is unambiguously negative. Light and clouds can both be perceived as deceptions designed to conceal the true nature of the Divinity.

⁹¹ 'Darkness' l.5.

⁹² 'Darkness' ll.3, 34, 45, 71-72.

⁹³ For more on romantic apocalyptic literature, and 'Darkness' as typical of that genre, M. Paley, *Apocalypse and Millennium in English Romantic Poetry* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999).



Figure 81: *The Deluge*, by J.W. Turner.

A similar concept can also be briefly seen in *Don Juan*, where the darkness of twilight is described as a 'veil' concealing 'one whose hate is masked but to assail'.⁹⁴ Moreover, throughout Byron's poetry, as in Dualist texts, clouds are generally associated with diabolic variants of Arimanes, creating a further enigmatic ambivalence around the word.⁹⁵ The concluding lines of *Manfred* describe an 'infernal God' come to claim Manfred's soul, a 'dusk and awful figure', hidden behind a cloak and 'robed as with angry clouds'.⁹⁶ This hellish being is a God of darkness and fear who conceals his face, the shadow of God, that is the shadow of the good God. *Sardanapalus* contains a number of lines describing thunder and clouds as the voice of Ba'al (the Assyrian Deity) and the auguries of Jove. Phrases such as 'muttering thunder', 'commanding tempest' and 'the roar of the clouds' all contain 'voices' which are interpreted as a Divine message.⁹⁷ There is an explicit association of God with clouds rather than light. Moreover, as the play progresses, the content and strength of these Divine missives escalates. They start as 'dusk shadows' and 'coming dimness',⁹⁸ while his red glare 'amongst the deepening clouds' is likened to 'the blood he predicts'.⁹⁹ This warning develops into a subdued muttering and gradually intensifies to the 'roar of the clouds' indicating unleashed anger, subsequently expressed in the ultimate form of stormy displeasure, lightning.¹⁰⁰ Ba'al, traditionally worshipped as the sun, is described as communicating with His subjects through clouds, storms and the destructive violence of lighting. Here again can be seen the underlying subversive imagery of light and dark, with the god being perceived as light but acting through the concealing medium of darkness and obscuring clouds. This notion is reinforced by the fact that Ba'al's other traditional means of communication is via the stars – a murky form of half-light more linked with dark than light and, as was mentioned previously, heavily associated with Satan. As Byron's readers would have known, Ba'al is the traditional OT enemy of God, the deity of the Canaanites and the surrounding lands before the coming of the

⁹⁴ *DJ* II.49..386-388.

⁹⁵ *Manfred*, II.iv.73-74.

⁹⁶ *Manfred* III.iv.62-65.

⁹⁷ *Sardanapalus* II.i.538-558, 3-4.

⁹⁸ Alternative lines found in M.S.M.

⁹⁹ II.i.3-4.

¹⁰⁰ III.i.540-41, 'some falling bolt / Proves his divinity'.

Israelites.¹⁰¹ Byron's use of cloud and stars, with their potential implications of wickedness and deceit, can be interpreted as reflecting the fact that Ba'al is in fact a false god. Byron uses the same imagery in connection with the Christian God, with similar connotations. However, Byron also uses stars to represent beauty, wisdom and peace, as do many of his contemporaries, discussed later.

In *Cain* there are a number of descriptions linking God with the murky obscurity of clouds and shadows. Once again, Dualist doctrines are used to reinforce confusion and doubt in the reader. In particular, the final Act has Cain condemning Jehovah for his bloodthirsty desire for living sacrifices. Dualists used the fact that the OT God demanded bloody sacrifices as proof that He was the Evil Principle. As mentioned previously, Peacock's 'Ahrimanes' makes a similar point concerning the clergy's blindness to the fact they were worshipping Ahrimanes not Ohrmazd based on their Deity's demands for blood.¹⁰² In *Cain*, the eponymous anti-hero condemns Jehovah's blood lust and denounces him as:

Yon vile flatt'rer of the clouds

The smoky harbinger of thy dull prayers.¹⁰³

This God takes his pleasure in the 'fumes of scorching flesh and smoking blood'.¹⁰⁴ The language here forcefully evokes Cain's disgust. He is actively repulsed by the perverted pleasures of Abel's Deity. The combination of 'smoky' with 'clouds' and 'dull' stresses the fact that Jehovah is not associated with the purity of light but with dirt and corruption. He does not even merit absolute darkness but is represented by a foul, polluted air. The ambiguity of *Cain*'s light and dark imagery reaches its peak with these lines, as both are presented as having a purity and sanctity, yet Jehovah's corruption is shown to sully them both. There is a harsh contrast between Cain's perception of Jehovah and Abel's reverent prayers to the 'sole lord of light, / Of good

¹⁰¹ See also Byron's source, Diodorus, pp.119-123 with its lengthy discussion of the Chaldean worship of the sun as Baal's representative, and their predictions of the future based on the movements of the stars.

¹⁰² Peacock wrote that when Ahrimanes came to power in the world, 'Blood flowed in feuds and in war at the beck of tyrants and on the alter of superstition where he was worshipped under unnumbered names by the abject and terrified race of man'. Peacock shows his disgust with established church and state later on in the summary of the poem, where he has an Oromazic priest turn out to be worshipper of Ahrimanes: 'an ahrimannic genius interposes and saves the priest, saying that priests and kings are the peculiar objects of the care of ahrimanes', in Young, 'Peacock and Ahrimanes, pp.22-29; see also Blake's *Ghost of Abel* 2.13-15 and *Jerusalem* 55-58.

¹⁰³ *Cain* III.i.290-291.

¹⁰⁴ III.i.300.



Figure 82: *Expulsion from the Garden of Eden by Moon and Firelight*, by Thomas Cole, 1828.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ From the Thyssen-Bornemisza Museum in Spain.

and glory and eternity'.¹⁰⁵ Byron's methods of inversion reveal the falseness of Abel's worshipful prayer. His God is neither the Lord of Light, nor good nor glorious. Cain has gone down the path of uncertainty and doubt and is obliged to acknowledge that while there may be a good God, the Christian deity of the OT is not Him. The reader has followed Cain and might be led to similar conclusions due to Byron's Dualist subversion of traditional symbolism. Arimanes and Ba'al are both evil deities, condemned as false gods by orthodox Christianity. Yet Byron uses the same symbolism of clouds, storms, smoke and blood in connection with these pagan immortals as he does with Jehovah, the Calvinist God of *Cain* and *Heaven and Earth*. The latter drama depicts that deity creating the terrible storms which flood the entire world, killing thousands, while in the former He lurks behind clouds and smoke, demanding bloody sacrifices and inflicting death on all mankind in perpetuity. The similar imagery in connection with Jehovah, Arimanes and Ba'al is unlikely to be wholly coincidental and it draws attention to the correspondingly violent actions and cruel natures of these divine beings.

Finally, God not only causes blindness and darkens the world but his light, the tainted sunlight forged from darkness, causes darkness in people. Although not directly discussed by Byron, sunlight results in darker skins and therefore symbolically sunlight causes darkness. A devout Dualist could argue that this is further proof that the Evil Principle created the sun. This brings us to the next aspect of Byron's use of light-dark imagery, the concept of 'bad' light. Just as darkness has been shown to be a morally ambivalent indicator, a similar ambiguity concerning light exists in Byron's poetry. Light is both corrupted and corrupting, destructive and nurturing, a sign of Grace and a mark of depravity.

'Moths like maidens are ever caught by glare': Byron's Bad light¹⁰⁶

The concept of bad or destructive light again arises from the Dualist theory of cyclical dominion. If, as noted previously, the Creator of the material world is the Evil Principle then the entirety of creation, including the sun and all other forms of light, is corrupted. The whole notion of light as a marker of divinity and goodness becomes inverted. Whilst it might still be indicative of divinity, it ceases to reflect the innate

¹⁰⁵ III.231-232.

¹⁰⁶ *CHP* I.ix.80.

goodness that Christians perceived as a necessary aspect of Godhood. This results in yet another split in the categories of light. There is divine light from the Good Principle and material light from the Evil Principle.

Light thus becomes a delusive glamour rather than a moral indicator. Moreover, bright light can be just as concealing as utter darkness, obscuring everything in its blinding glare, like snow-blindness in the mountains. God's blazing glory can be seen as acting like the coloured light used to entice unwary prey by the grotesque deep-sea fish in the darkness of the Abyss, these smaller fish, lured in by the apprehension of food or piscine lust draw close and do not see the gaping jaws and jagged teeth of the monster lurking behind the bobbing light. Excessive light is just as blinding as the complete absence of light. Milton succinctly describes how this light-blindness makes things 'dark with excessive bright'.¹⁰⁷ Later he writes of how 'objects divine' can ruin 'mortal sight' and 'impair and weary human senses'.¹⁰⁸ This notion of divine light as painful and destructive frequently appears in Calvinist literature and can be linked with the concept of God as deliberately causing darkness. A fact which Byron and his peers were well aware of, as shown by Moore's *Loves of Angels* in which the angel Rubi, based on Byron, incinerates his human lover when he reveals his full heavenly glory.¹⁰⁹ Calvin's *Institutes* contains an interesting passage on this topic in which he describes how 'when Scripture teaches that we are illuminated accordingly as God has chosen us' our eyes are so 'dazzled with the blaze of this light' as to cause disorientation in the beholder. The concept of election as a gentle illumination is contrasted with the harsher language of a blazing glare that is so strong it actually results in confusion and incomprehension.¹¹⁰ The paradoxical concept of light barring the way to God with destructive brilliance, while at the same time being the revelatory path which leads to Him can also be seen in Cowper's *Olney Hymns*:

Thy book displays a gracious light,
That can the blind restore;
But these are dazzled by the sight,

¹⁰⁷ *PL* III.380.

¹⁰⁸ *PL* XII.8-10.

¹⁰⁹ 'The Loves of Angels', in *The Poetical Works of Thomas Moore*, ed. C. Kent (London: Routledge, 1883).

¹¹⁰ *Institutes* 3.20.



Figure 83: Portrait of Thomas Moore, aged 40.⁴¹

⁴¹ Frontispiece from Moore's *Journals and Correspondence*, Vol. 1.

And blinded still the more.¹¹¹

The idea of the light of the Gospel as having the power to restore sight to the blind (allowing them to see God) yet being so glaring as to blind them even further is incongruous. Examples such as these prove that Byron's representations of God's light as harsh and painful are therefore surprisingly Calvinist despite their negative connotations. In *Childe Harold* there are a number of references to light as a false glamour, a seductive trap for people and moths,¹¹² however there are also passages dealing with the painful glare of truth which causes Harold's 'aching eyes' to grow 'dim'.¹¹³ Here again can be seen the idea of light as literally blinding, destructive in its purity.

In *Sardanapalus* the slave girl, Myrrha, describes the blinding effects of looking at the sun, the divinity incarnate, which breaks:

Through all the clouds, and fills my eyes with light

That shuts the world out. I can look no more.¹¹⁴

Although obviously this happens when you stare into the sun or at any glaringly bright light which burns the retina, the religious overtones of the sun as Ba'al lend a secondary meaning to the text. The divine light is all-encompassing, blinding her to everything but itself and eventually driving her away with its force. In 'On Jordan's Banks' from his *Hebrew Melodies*, Byron describes how no one can 'see' God's 'glory shrouded in its garb of fire' and 'not expire', shrivelled by God's destructive magnificence.¹¹⁵ In *Cain*, Ada describes Lucifer's light as 'not dazzling' when she contrasts it with that of the other angels, implying that the light of the angels and thus of God is blinding.¹¹⁶ This is a common idea throughout Byron's poetry, which often describes aggressive or violent light that hurts the beholder.

When taken in conjunction with the Dualistic intimation that God's light does not stem from goodness, simply from power, these passages can be read as condemnatory attacks on God's nature, rather than orthodox expressions of Calvinist piety. Just as Milton's Satan seems more magnificent in the darkness of

¹¹¹ LXXII.2.

¹¹² For example, *CHP* I.80, and also II.225-230.

¹¹³ *CHP* I.323.

¹¹⁴ *Sardanapalus* V.i.57-58.

¹¹⁵ 'On Jordan's Banks' St.2.

¹¹⁶ *Cain* I.i.516.

Pandemonium, where his residual glory renders him like the one-eyed king in the land of the blind, so it is possible that God's overwhelming glory and divine light actually conceal His flaws just as successfully as clouds and darkness. In *Cain* God's vengeful anger is a 'livid light' which 'breaks through as from a thunder cloud'. Although discussed earlier there is yet another interpretation of this passage – the use of livid implies sickness or disease, a spreading corruption tainting the purity of light. Such a reading is enhanced by the proximity of this leprous glow with clouds, creates an impression that the clouds, already shown to represent Jehovah, have actually polluted the purity of light itself, contaminating it with infection. The earlier reading of Jehovah as associated neither with light nor darkness but as a diseased corruption of both is equally relevant here.

One of the most interesting passages concerning tainted light contains a conversation between Abel and Cain, in which the former accuses his brother of being made ill by Lucifer's words:

Thine eyes are flashing with an unnatural light
Thy cheeks flushed with an unnatural hue,
Thy words are fraught with an unnatural sound.¹¹⁷

Here light is more like a plague, representative of a diseased soul. This inference is indicated by the repetition of 'unnatural' which heightens the awareness of wrongness and infection. This is accented by the words 'flashing' and 'flushed', denoting fever. Calvinist Abel is unenlightened and blind, so he would view Cain's *gnosis*-inspired revelation as unnatural and out of keeping with Calvinist world-views. The direct source of Cain's illness is Lucifer's knowledge, yet knowledge is traditionally represented by light. However, here light has brought disease rather than redemption. Indirectly the tainted light links Cain back to Jehovah, possibly indicating that in his present turbulent state of mind, Cain will fulfil God's punitive curse on mankind by bringing death into the world. The 'bad' light can therefore be viewed as a sign of Cain's (unconscious and involuntary) allegiance to Jehovah resulting in his act of fratricide. Such an inversion of the established view of light as linked with life and God and health could indicate Byron's own disillusionment with Calvinism.

¹¹⁷ III.185-187.



Figure 84: Ruins of an Achaemenian fire temple at Bishapur.⁴²

⁴² From M. Zaehner, *Dawn and Twilight*, p.17.

Perhaps the most Christianised conceptualisation of 'bad' light in Orthodox accounts is hell-fire. Although associated with Satan, nonetheless, he receives his position and power from God and it is God's will which he carries out in the deep circles of hell. Fire has long been the traditional emblem of the purity of divinity, particularly in early Dualist faiths such as Zoroastrianism. At the same time it has frequently been associated with God who repeatedly uses fire as a weapon of retribution. The very existence of hell, let alone its traditional depiction as a flaming pit of unimaginable anguish, would seem to support the idea that we are 'in the hands of infinite power and infinite sadism'.¹¹⁸ Fire itself is not pure, it is smoky and destructive, resulting in blackened charring. This inherent mixture of light and dark makes it a peculiarly fitting symbol for Byron's Jehovah being neither pure light nor pure dark. Moreover, the punitive associations of fire reinforce the concept of destructive light and force the reader to acknowledge the cruel despotism of a Being who deliberately tortures those He allegedly loves.

Byron seems to use the motif of hell-fire to challenge the concept of Divine goodness. Throughout *Cain* Jehovah is linked with blood, clouds and fire, harshly contrasted with the nurturing symbolism of fruit and growth associated with Cain, discussed earlier. Not only is there the blood stained altar where the sacrifices are burned, but Jehovah's minions, the angels, are frequently described using flame imagery. Eve mentions these 'fiery cherubim', while Cain refers to 'fire-arm'd angels', 'fiery swords' and 'fiery-sworded cherubim'. This is reminiscent of Matthew 10.34 where Christ states he comes 'not to bring peace, but to bring a sword',¹¹⁹ an unsettling concept also dealt with by Shelley, Peacock, Blake and Turner. It also brings to mind purgatorial hellfire.¹²⁰ The fact that a number of Byron's friends and contemporaries were fascinated by this image of an avenging angel wielding a

¹¹⁸ L. Niven and J. Pournelle, *Inferno* (London: Orb Books, 1979), pp.34, 89, 150.

¹¹⁹ Full passage is Matt 10.34-39, 'Do not think that I came to bring peace on Earth; I did not come to bring peace, but a sword. For I came to set a man against his father, and a daughter against her mother, and a daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law; and a man's enemies will be the members of his household.' See also Luke 12.49, 'I have come to cast fire upon the Earth; and how I wish it were already kindled'.

¹²⁰ Shelley's fragment, 'The Wandering Jew's Soliloquy', has Cain describing the 'angel's two-edged sword of fire' which forced his parents from Eden 'for errors not their own', their actions 'foredoomed' by the 'omniscient' God; see also *Queen Mab* VII.167-172. Blake's 'Marriage of Heaven and Hell' also touches on this. Peacock wrote a Greek anapaest based on Matt 10.34, which was so shocking in its vituperative condemnation of the violence following Christ's visit to earth that it was subsequently destroyed by Peacock's pious granddaughter Edith Nicholls after she read a translation. Joukovsky, 'The Lost Greek Anapaests of Thomas Love Peacock', *Modern Philology*, 89, (1992), pp. 363-374.

flaming sword, combined with his knowledge of scripture, renders it highly unlikely that he would have been unaware of the biblical connotations of these images. Fire has strong infernal overtones, so angels with 'fiery swords' become figures of divine retribution, scourging the unwary wicked. Fire is therefore irrevocably linked with God and His vengeance. The Bible contains numerous references to fire as God's weapon, as any biblical concordance will show.¹²¹ Even the briefest glance at Dante's *Inferno* (and as shown earlier, Byron gave it considerably more than a brief glance) reveals multiple examples of fiery torments. The blasphemers against God perpetually dance on burning sands under a rain of fire, frantically slapping away great clinging flakes of burning matter. The Simoniacs and other corrupt clergy are upended with flames burning on the soles of their feet and heretics are trapped in red-hot iron tombs for eternity. Interestingly, it seems as if Dante's God responds to direct attacks against Himself with fire and fire-related torments. Byron's detailed knowledge of *Inferno* arguably influenced his presentation of fire as a tool of Divine anger in *Cain*. Thomas Cole's 1828 painting, *Expulsion from the Garden of Eden by Moon and Firelight*, provides a vivid illustration of this association of God with fire and darkness. Cole is a particularly interesting painter in connection with Byron as a number of his works were inspired by Byron's poetry, most notably his Course of Empire series, based on *Childe Harold*, Canto IV.¹²²

There are various examples of bad light that are not associated with God in Byron's works. One such can be found in *Manfred* which contains a beautiful passage associating light and beauty with death, drawn from Byron's own experience of a waterfall in Switzerland.¹²³ Thomas Cole painted this *Scene from Manfred* in 1833. Byron describes the beauty of a waterfall using a great deal of light imagery; phrases such as 'sunbow's rays' and 'the many hues of heaven' combine to create a truly striking image of water flashing myriad rainbows in the sunlight. Yet then he follows with the lines:

¹²¹ Mark 9.43-48, Isaiah 9.18, 30.33, 33.11-14, 50.11, 65.5, 66.24, Luke 3.17, 16.24, Jude 1.7, Revelations 9.2, 14.10, 19.20, 20.9-10, 14, 21.8, Enoch 10.9, Matthew 3.10, 5.22, 8.30, 18.8, 25.41, 13.42, 50, Deuteronomy 32.22, Jeremiah 17.4, 1 Corinthians 3.15, 2 Thessalonians 1.8, Hebrews 10.27, 12.29.

¹²² For more on this see A.P. Wallach, 'Cole, Byron, and the Course of Empire', *The Art Bulletin*, 50, (1978), pp.375-379.

¹²³ In his Alpine Journal, Byron describes how seeing a waterfall's rainbow iridescence reminds him of white horse tails, BLJ V.101.



Figure 85: *Scene from Manfred*, by Thomas Cole, 1833.

And fling its lines of foaming light along
And to and for, like the pale courser's tail
The giant steed, to be bestrode by Death
As told in the Apocalypse.¹²⁴

The description of 'foaming light' is so fluid that one almost doesn't notice it flow into the reference to the fourth horseman, until the explicit reference to Death in the next line. The beautiful light imagery and the reference to heaven's hues makes this allusion to Death even more shocking. It undermines the traditional perceptions of death as linked with darkness. This is strengthened by the living nature of the light descriptions. The shimmering water seems almost alive, it is even likened to a horse, yet the reference to death acts like a slap. Light becomes the symbol of life and death at the same time.

Another passage in *Manfred* describes the destructive light of Manfred's own star, symbolising his life's destiny. The star is 'a wandering mass of shapeless flame' and the 'menace of the universe', a 'bright deformity' and the 'monster of the upper sky'.¹²⁵ Here, the light imagery expresses a sense of devastating force. Words such as 'monster' and 'deformity' create an impression of mutation and disease, utterly at odds with the shining innocence conveyed by words such as 'bright'. Such an interpretation is reinforced by the phrase a 'mass of shapeless flame' which directly links light with the distorted corruption of the former star. The fact that it is a star, itself an emblem of purity and light, which has been warped into a killing machine attacking the universe is similar to *Sardanapalus* where the stars presage the death and destruction of war. Moreover, once again there are similarities with Southey's *Thalaba*, where the eponymous hero describes how 'The star that ruled my nativity / Shone with a strange and blasting influence'.¹²⁶

A brief digression here into the paintings of 'the arch-Romantic' Turner provides a correlation with this topic. Turner was heavily influenced by the Romantics and Byron in particular. Although it seems they never met, they travelled to many of the same places and shared a number of friends. Byron's influence on

¹²⁴ *Manfred* II.ii.1-8.

¹²⁵ I.i.110-123.

¹²⁶ *Thalaba* 260-261.

Turner can be seen in his choice of painting topic and in his use of passages from various poems by Byron.¹²⁷ As Clark notes, not only was Turner hugely influenced by poets, but everything in his paintings down to ‘the minutest detail is calculated from some poetic effect’, based on the theory that a painting must be visible poetry.¹²⁸ This, in conjunction with his famous statement ‘the sun is God’,¹²⁹ renders Turner’s paintings of light and God extremely interesting in the context of this study, particularly given that the God Turner seems to have believed in was ‘a jealous God and cruel’.¹³⁰ Turner’s depictions of light are thought to have been influenced in part by the sixteenth-century Italian theorist Lomazzo’s identification of light with God.¹³¹ However, although brightness might signify a life-giving force, it can also torture and destroy. The importance of light in Turner’s works, particularly the later pieces, has long been understood. His fascination with the delicacy of light, its potential to obscure rather than to reveal can be seen in his numerous depictions of sunrise on the Thames. This interest was not limited to artistic representations of natural phenomena. Turner used his understanding of the concealing nature of light to portray it as a negative force in a number of paintings, such as *Regulus* and *Angel Standing in the Sun*.

Let us first address *Regulus*, which represents the fate of the General who refused to submit to Carthage and had his eyelids cut off as punishment. If one looks at the picture, it is hazy and lacking in detail, the sunlight is too strong and blots out almost everything. The painting is generally assumed to have been painted from Regulus’ perspective, after the removal of his eyelids. Although not directly linked with God, the portrayal of blinding light provides a vivid illustration of the earlier discussion. Moreover, Turner frequently explicitly asserts his belief that the sun and God are synonymous.

A stronger case for the aggressive, overwhelming glare of light as representative of God can be made in connection with Turner’s *Angel Standing in the Sun*. The colours and misty haze of these two painting are very similar, the second

¹²⁷ Clark, *Romantic Rebellion*, pp.223-245, Hefferman, ‘Self Representation in Byron and Turner’, pp.207-241.

¹²⁸ Clark, *Romantic Rebellion*, p.223.

¹²⁹ Bullen, ‘Turner and the Solar Myth’, *Sun is God*, pp.39-48.

¹³⁰ Honour, *Romanticism*, p.96.

¹³¹ Ibid.



Figure 86: *The Angel Standing in the Sun*, by J.M.W. Turner. The painting was accompanied by two passages:

And I saw an angel standing in the sun; and he cried with a loud voice, saying to all the fowls that fly in the midst of heaven, Come and gather yourselves together unto the supper of the great God; that ye may eat the flesh of kings, and the flesh of captains, and the flesh of mighty men, and the flesh of horses, and of them that sit on them, both free and bond, both small and great. (Revelations 19.17-18).

The morning march that flashes to the sun;
The feast of vultures when the day is done.
(Samuel Rogers, *Voyage of Columbus*).

reminding the viewer of the glaring light in the first. This second painting provides an illustration for the retributive aspect of bad light. The Angel grasps a sword in one hand and stands with it upraised in a threatening position, while in the foreground are the faint images of traitors and the biblical damned, such as Cain and Judas. It is interesting that they seem to be suffering in the bowels of light, rather than the depths of darkness. Light is after all not the usual tool of retribution, although fire is. This sense of vengeful punishment is reinforced by the passages accompanying the painting. One is from Revelations, 19.17-18, which describes an Angel 'standing in the sun' urging birds to come and 'eat the flesh of kings, and the flesh of captains, and the flesh of mighty men'. The other passage is taken from Samuel Rogers' *Voyage of Columbus* which was subtitled 'The Angel of Darkness' and describes vultures feasting under the flashing sun. It is interesting that one excerpt explicitly links the angel with sunlight while the other associates him with darkness, yet the message of death is the same. There is an ambiguity in the choice of epigraph that is reminiscent of Byron's poems, reflected in the painting itself. Although initially seeming to show an angel surrounded by the glowing penumbra of holy light, a closer look at the painting itself and the passages beneath force the viewer to reassess the initial impression. Turner's use of light here is ominous and threatening in its misty lack of detail. As with Byron, one gains the sense of light as concealing rather revealing, linked with war and death rather than love and holiness. This sense of divine menace also appears in Turner's *The Deluge*, which depicts the evening of the Genesis flood – one of the most vivid examples of the destructive vengeance of God in the OT. The painting is a potent depiction of the devastating forces at God's control. The menacing blackness of the clouds, the sweeping rain battering the twisted bodies of the drowned and dying in the foreground, while in the distance a bloody red glow lurks on the horizon, staining the seas. This can be viewed as simply the ruddy rays of the setting sun. However, Turner's sun is his God and the fiery glow could be interpreted as a sign of pleasure at the extent of His dark destruction, rather like Jehovah's 'livid light' in *Cain* at Abel's death. Many Romantic poets and painters looked for God in nature, the works of the Lake Poets, the majestic landscapes and towering mountains, even the destructive thunderstorm in Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein*, there are countless examples of this. Yet Turner and Byron were different – they searched for God in the light itself and although they discovered power, they do not appear to have perceived benevolence.

‘Night is also a religious concern’: Benevolent Darkness¹³²

The final subject for discussion is the concept that just as Byron uses light in a negative fashion to challenge the received assumptions of his readers, he also uses darkness in a positive manner for the same purpose. As intimated earlier, there is an Orthodox tradition, derived from Scripture, of darkness as a marker of sublime power. Edmund Burke’s *Sublime and Beautiful* actually describes ‘darkness as a cause of the sublime’, examining how the power of darkness lies in its destruction of certainty.¹³³ Byron harnesses this to create uncertainty in his poems. The notion of darkness representing safety, innocence and gentleness is a direct contrast to the idea of light as a harsh destructive glare. It is only from within the context of aggressive or destructive light that darkness can represent a haven. Only when light is blinding can darkness, and the associated half light of stars, be seen as representing a gentler light that reveals rather than obscures – nuanced shades of grey rather than blinding brightness. Moonlight can be a thing of shadows and deceit, but it and starlight are also frequently depicted as representing pure white light, contrasted with the dazzling glare of the sun, as can be seen in *Midsummer Night’s Dream*.

This inversion of conventional symbolism can be seen in a number of Byron’s works, such as *The Island* where darkness is often a marker of innocence and productive industry and ‘Oscar of Alva’ where darkness is linked with truth. It is most fully expressed in *Cain*, in the character of Lucifer, who might be ‘the scheming tempter of Orthodox tradition’,¹³⁴ but is also the Dualist Revelator bringing *gnosis* and redemption. While Abel and Adam worship the ‘sole lord of light’, Cain and Lucifer travel through space and realms of darkness seeking enlightenment. Although admittedly Cain only receives ‘dim and shadowy’ knowledge, the concept of searching for the light of truth in darkness is innovative. Throughout the drama, Byron weaves a web of conflicting juxtaposition: ignorance worshipping light, the search for knowledge in darkness. This Dualist-inspired challenge to conventional conceptions functions as an interlocking web of subversive themes challenging the assumption that darkness must be evil and light must indicate goodness.

¹³² BLJ X.17.

¹³³ E. Burke, *Philosophical Enquiry into the Sublime and Beautiful* (London: Routledge, 2008). Byron was aware of Burke and alludes to him in BLJ VII.73 and BLJ IX.13.

¹³⁴ Hirst, ‘Byron’s lapse into Orthodoxy’, p.154.



Figure 87: *Regulus*, by J.M.W. Turner.

¹²⁰ BIL X.17.
¹²¹ E. Butler, *Edmond Burke and the Revolution* (London: Routledge, 2008), 111.
 was aware of Burke and alludes to him in BIL V.10.5 and BIL IX.13.
¹²² Hunt, "Byron's lapse into Orthodoxy," p. 124.

One of the most persuasive examples of the beauty and power of darkness is in the passage where Ada admires Lucifer, comparing him to other angels:

who are like to thee
And brighter, yet less beautiful and pow'rful
In seeming. As the silent sunny noon,
All light they look upon us, but thou seemest
Like an ethereal night, where long white clouds
Streak the deep purple, and unnumbered stars
Spangle the wonderful mysterious vault
With things that look as if they would be suns
So beautiful, unnumbered and endearing
Not dazzling, yet drawing us to them
They fill my eyes with tears and so dost thou.¹³⁵

Although Ada acknowledges that Lucifer is less bright than the other angels, she sees this as a positive thing, believing it makes him more beautiful and more 'pow'rful', despite the fact that he is unarmed and they have 'fiery swords'. She dismisses them as mere 'silent sunny noon' lacking majesty and mystery – the casualness of 'sunny noon' renders the angels almost mundane. This is contrasted with the awe-inspiring magnificence of Lucifer's 'ethereal night', spangled with stars. Interestingly, Ada describes the angels as 'All light', intimating that this is a flaw rather than a sign of perfection. She refers to them as 'dazzling', implying a blinding glare. This is contrasted to the subtly nuanced shades of Lucifer's beauty, whose softer light is more revealing. The night is not plain black but 'deep purple' with 'white' clouds, 'unnumbered stars' and 'suns'. Ada finds this 'endearing' and is drawn to such a 'wonderful mysterious' beauty. Her attraction reinforces the impression that the angels are not appealing. They are dazzling not endearing and she is not drawn to them, nor inspired to tears by their bland glare.

The Dualist doctrine of cyclical dominion argues that the sun is the creation of the Evil Principle. However, as the heavens are the realm of the Good Principle, Dualists differentiate between heavenly light and material light. Given that the blinding harshness of material light is proof of the corruption of its creator, one might

¹³⁵ *Cain* I.i.507-517.

assume that heavenly light would be softer, more gentle – like starlight. Stars are linked with darkness. They can only be seen at night in the vastness of space, as we are blinded during the day by the dazzling light of the sun. Lucifer's association with starlight, both in *Cain* and biblically, can be seen as an indicator of his status as Gnostic Revelator. This is reinforced by the fact that Lucifer and Cain travelled into the heavens and out to the stars to search for truth. Lucifer argues that it is the 'wisdom in the spirit' which leads many to seek 'the star which watches'.¹³⁶ Here again is the idea of spiritual wisdom leading to the stars, the soul yearning for enlightenment from the night sky. The knowledge which Cain eventually discovers is that Jehovah is not good. In Shelley's *Queen Mab*, Mab and Ianthe journey through the stars and come to a similar conclusion concerning God's nature.¹³⁷ The association of Lucifer with starlight is doubly interesting when examined within the wider context of Romantic use of starlight as an emblem of imagination and political ideals.¹³⁸ Sadly there is no space to examine this concept more fully, however, the parallels between the Romantic perception of starlight, the Dualist beliefs in a Gnostic redeemer, and Byron's Lucifer are fascinating.

It is not only starlight, which is presented as superior to light, darkness itself is also depicted as more powerful. This can be seen most forcefully in *Vision of Judgement*, a poem which has been neglected in this work due to its general orthodoxy. Throughout the satire, written in response to Southey's work of the same title, Byron uses light and dark in a conventional fashion. Vice and iniquity are 'black', as are the records of punishment. The angels are like peacocks whose wings 'glow'd' with 'heavenly dyes'.¹³⁹ This use of light renders the angels insubstantial, implying they are more like ineffectual strutting courtiers than divine representatives, despite being 'radiant with glory'.¹⁴⁰ This is a striking contrast to Satan, a 'sombre silent spirit' whose imagery might be linked with menacing darkness but it conveys a

¹³⁶ I.i.492-495.

¹³⁷ *Queen Mab*, Canto I.

¹³⁸ Shelley in particular wrote a number of works on stars and moonlight, linking them with peace and beauty in 'The Star' and 'Despair', but also with poetic inspiration, death and darkness in works such as 'The Moonbeam'. Roe examines this concept in 'Bright Star, Sweet Unrest: Image and Consolation in Wordsworth, Shelley and Keats', *History and Myth: Essays on English Romantic Literature*, ed. S. Behrendt (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1990), pp.130-148.

¹³⁹ *Vision of Judgement* St.3.20, St. 17.133-134.

¹⁴⁰ St.23.219.

sense of power lacking in the other angels.¹⁴¹ His wings are like ‘thunder clouds’ and storms which wreck ‘tempest-toss’d’ ships on desolate beaches.¹⁴² Even his eyes are powerful, ‘where *he* gazed, a gloom pervaded space’.¹⁴³ The strength of darkness is stronger than that of light, as the flashy shine of angelic fire pales and darkens under Satan’s fearsome glare. This idea of darkness as more overwhelming than light also appears in the passage depicting Satan as stronger than the sun itself. The passage culminates in the lines:

The sun takes some years for every ray
To reach its goal – the devil not half a day.¹⁴⁴

Although a humorous stanza, the overriding implication is that the sun, the traditional emblem of God’s divinity, is significantly weaker than Satan. (Though this weakness could be explained if the sun was the creation of the Evil Principle, who is inevitably feebler).

Conclusion: ‘If we would arrive at the truth, each man must be taught to enquire and think for himself’¹⁴⁵

Byron’s Calvinism resulted in his negative perception of God, a perception he found the means to express through his knowledge of Dualism and Dualist doctrines, which allowed him to subvert Christian symbolism and question the received assumptions of his readers. It was Dualism that led him to this innovative manner of challenging the established Church. Moreover, Byron, brought up surrounded by devout Presbyterians who asserted the corruption of the body and the purity of the soul, is likely to have found the Dualist arguments concerning this plausible. They would have reinforced his self-view. He seems to struggle against his predisposition towards sensual sins, striving towards the ideal but betrayed by his body and disposition.

This contrast between what he was and what he would like to be provided him with a further insight into the inconsistency of appearance and reality, the central predicate of Dualist revelatory *gnosis* and one which he expressed most fully in the unfinished work ‘The Deformed Transformed’. This poem describes the suffering of

¹⁴¹ St.32.249.

¹⁴² *Vision of Judgement* St.24.

¹⁴³ *Ibid*; see also St.52.

¹⁴⁴ St.55-56.

¹⁴⁵ W. Godwin, *Enquiry Concerning Political Justice and its Influence on Morals and Happiness* (London: Robinson 1798), I, p.288.

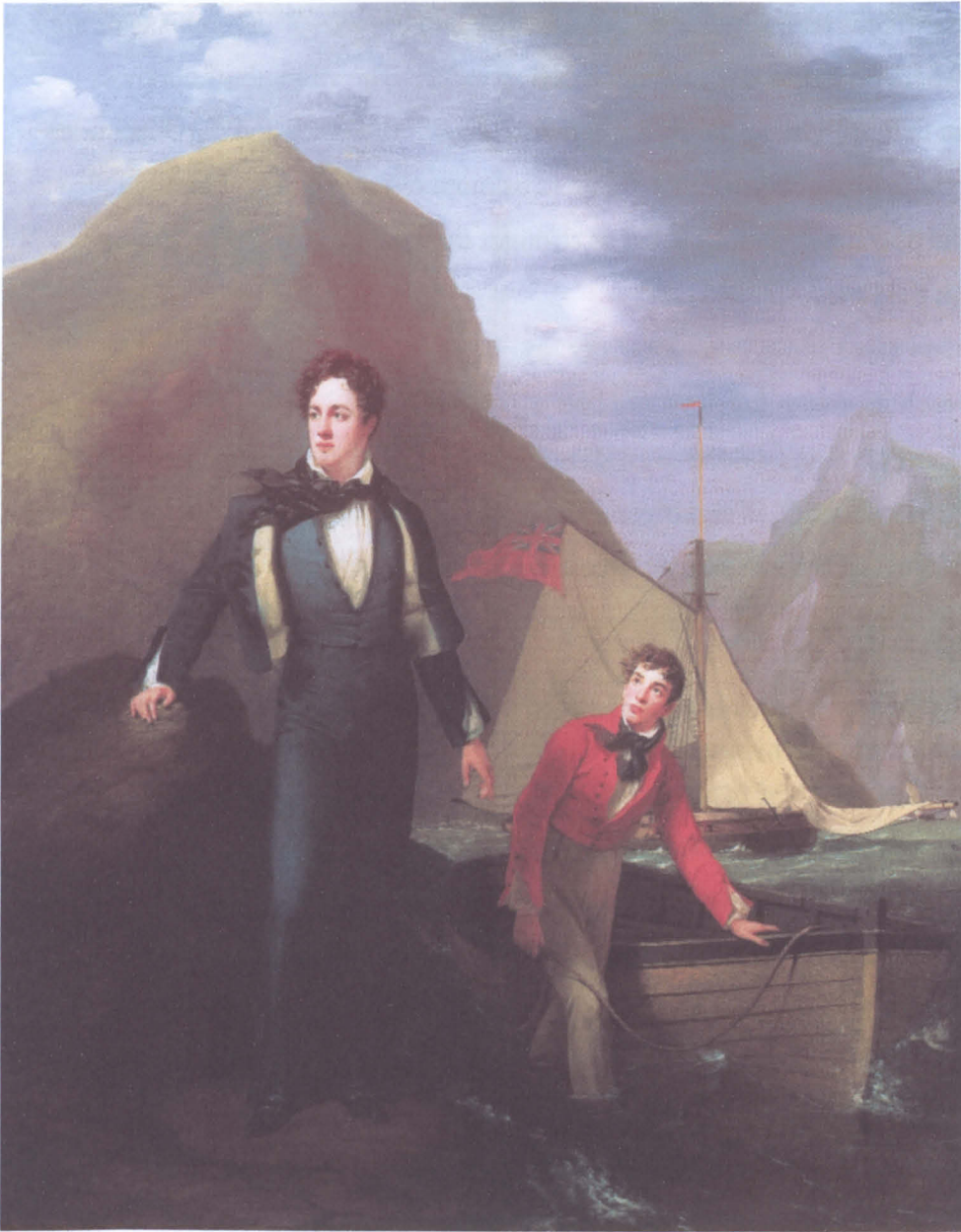


Figure 88: *Byron and Robert Rushton*, by George Sanders, painted in 1807-8 prior to Byron's Continental travels.

Arnold, a hideous hunch-back who longs to have a perfect body. In a Faustian twist, Byron has him sell his soul to the devil in exchange for the body of one of the classical heroes. Arnold chooses that of Achilles, while the devil takes up Arnold's misshapen form, becoming Cesar. This could be seen to reflect Byron's own idealistic longings for a flawless character and perfect body, due to his Calvinist-based conviction that deformity was proof of reprobation. However, the contrast between appearance and reality is further explored later in the poem, when Arnold's perfect body becomes a shield behind which lurks his twisted soul – Byron's notes seem to indicate that Arnold kills the woman he loves, Ophelia, in a fit of jealous rage and dissatisfaction with his new life when he learns that she prefers the deformed Cesar over him. This is similar to Cain's fratricidal rage after his travels with Lucifer leave him in a 'fit of dissatisfaction' and even more conscious of his limitations.¹⁴⁶

The desire to assert 'a new moral and ethical code',¹⁴⁷ sweeping away 'that gloomy and cruel superstition which has hitherto gone under the name of religion', raising people out of mindless subservience is arguably the driving force behind many of Byron's poems and poetic techniques, particularly his inversion of conventional symbolism.¹⁴⁸ Throughout much of his poetry, including *Cain*, *Sardanapalus*, *Manfred*, 'Oscar of Alva', *Childe Harold* and *Don Juan* to name just those few which there was space to discuss, Byron constantly challenges the traditional assumptions concerning light and dark. His lack of consistency leaves the reader without the usual markers or moral guides which aid them in making judgements. Thus they are forced to rely on the actual actions of the characters in the poem, leaving them in a state of doubt.

Finally, Byron was not alone in his Dualistic subversion of Christian traditions and admiration of the Devil. A number of Romantics practised similar inversion of God and Devil, in particular Blake, Shelley and Peacock. Unfortunately there is no room to examine these writers here, though it is interesting to note that they all had some level of interaction with various Dualist heresies and have used light and dark in

¹⁴⁶ BLJ VIII.216.

¹⁴⁷ R. Quinones, 'Byron's Cain: Between History and Theology', in Hirst, *Byron and Religion*, p.41.

¹⁴⁸ R. Price, *Discourse on the Love of our Country* 1790, cited in I. Hampsher-Monk, *The Impact of the French Revolution: Texts from Britain in the 1790's* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 43.

similarly complex and subversive methods to Byron in their attacks on Church and Christianity. Poets such as Blake wrote vehement tirades against the false pretence of controlling Victorian institutions hiding their corruption behind a hollow veneer of pious decency. This contributes to the popular notion of evil using a mask of beauty to deceive; thus artifice that conceals true nature is the falsehood of the Devil. One only has to look at Percy Shelly's poem *The Mask of Anarchy* (*written on the occasion of the massacre at Manchester*) to see further evidence of this. His disgust at such deception is evident in lines describing Fraud and Hypocrisy as 'clothed with the Bible...and the shadows of the Night' and his description of the various foundations of Victorian Society as personified in the figure of blood-drenched Anarchy.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁹ P. Shelley, 'The Mask of Anarchy', in *Romantic Writings: and Anthology*, eds. W. Owens and H. Johnson (Milton Keynes: The Open University, 4th ed., 2003), p.333.



Figure 89: Drawing of Byron, by G.H. Harlow, 1815.

SECTION TWO: Calvinism and Dualism, Unnoticed Parallels

*O God I me confes
Ane sinfull creature,
Full of al wretchitnes
Fragill, vaine, impure.
Thaire is na gude in me,
Bot pryde, lust and desyre,
And warldis vanitie,
The way to hellis fyre.¹*

This Section will examine the surprising similarities between Calvinism and Dualism, both in doctrines and the resultant imagery.² It will argue that it was this resemblance that led Byron to choose Dualism as his weapon of choice against Calvinism.

Marjarum remarks that ‘one can hardly escape the conclusion that Byron’s mind was fundamentally religious’. Yet, he notes Byron was not religious ‘in the sense of orthodox piety’ but in the sense of ‘being innately predisposed to concern [himself] with the supernatural order’ and the impact of traditional beliefs on human existence.³ With this in mind it is possible to see that Byron’s choice of heretical Dualism was not an arbitrary decision, designed to cause the optimum measure of scandal. Butler’s study of the phenomenon of ‘Romantic Manichaeism’ points out that ‘it is an interesting question which gods and goddesses attract the poets who “revive” them for symbolic purposes, rather than as objects of worship in modern times’.⁴ The symbolic uses of Dualism have already been addressed, but why was Byron attracted to Dualism in the first place?

Despite condemning the Calvinist God, Byron still seems to have believed in a good God, ‘who is merciful and just’ and ‘will not reject a child of dust’ out of hand for sins he has not yet committed.⁵ Byron hopes that such a deity exists, yet fears he does not, as his reactions towards his own lameness and the deformities of others shows. He argues (even if he cannot quite believe) that the Calvinist God who

¹ ‘Ane Confession of Sin’, *Gude and Godly Ballatis*, p.144.

² Incidentally, for the purposes of this Section, Dualism will be used as an umbrella term to cover all the various sects under discussion, unless otherwise specified.

³ Marjarum, *Byron: Sceptic and Believer*, p.15.

⁴ Butler, ‘Romantic Manichaeism’, in Bullen, *The Sun is God*, p.29.

⁵ ‘The Adieu’ st.11.

scourges sinners with the 'tortures of that inward hell' and 'ceaseless pain' of Despair is merely the warped creation of deluded humans.⁶ These would-be Christians are denounced for defacing the Word of God by creating hell, predestination and limiting God's powers.⁷ There is part of Byron which seems to have been unable to shed his early Calvinist teachings concerning 'the Omnipotent who makes and crushes'.⁸ Dualist doctrines allow him to retain this belief in a cruel deity, while potentially being comforted by the idea that the Calvinist God is neither the only nor the most powerful Divinity in the universe. It is this hope that there is a benevolent 'Father of Light' in heaven that is likely to be one of the main reasons behind Byron's interest in Dualism, with its 'either/or' options.⁹

However, there is another reason, never examined, which provides a new and important insight into Byron's use and perception of religion. This significant yet neglected factor is the striking similarity between Calvinism and Dualism. Some scholars have made glancing references to this similarity in the course of their analysis of Calvinism and Calvinist literature. For example, Manning describes Calvinism as:

A structure of thought which dealt in oppositions and absolute antipathies, and which found the Manichean side of St Augustine more hospitable than its polarising mentality.¹⁰

Calvinism builds on the teachings of Augustine concerning the existence of evil and humanity's corruption, which were themselves designed to combat Dualist theology. However, there are a number of parallels between his Calvinist successors and the Dualist sect he so vociferously opposed. The conflicting 'antipathies' alluded to by Manning include a reverence for the soul and the contrasting denigration of the physical body and the corporeal world. There is also the constant opposition of good and evil, truth and falsehood, elect and reprobate, all of which are equally characteristic of the later Christianised Dualist movements discussed in Chapter Two. Bozeman's description of English Puritanism as being typified by the 'great warfare with the flesh, world and devil; the watch upon behaviour, a marked degree of

⁶ *Giaour* ll.754, 1005.

⁷ In 'Prayer of Nature' Byron asks 'shall man condemn his race to Hell' (st. 6), 'confine his Maker's sway' (st. 5), and 'prepare a fancied bliss or woe' by creating 'creeds they cant expound' (st.8).

⁸ *HE* I.iii.62.

⁹ 'Prayer of Nature' st.1.

¹⁰ Manning, *Puritan Provincial Vision*, p.6.

religious insecurity coupled with a quest for the assurance of salvation' could be applied to the majority of Dualist sects with equal accuracy.¹¹

It is arguable that the spread of Calvinism across Europe and its strong foothold in Britain actually paved the way for the nineteenth-century revival of interest in Dualist sects owing to the similar doctrines. Not only is there a comparable perception of the world and Man's place in it, along with many corresponding doctrines, but the internalisation and self-perception of both Calvinists and Dualists are remarkably similar.

This Section argues that Byron was drawn to Dualism because its doctrines were akin to those ingrained tenets of the Church of Scotland fixed in his psyche. Although not himself a true believer or practising Dualist, Dualist teachings would have built upon his pre-existing convictions while providing more palatable answers to the various questions and inconsistencies that had caused Byron to become dissatisfied with Calvinism in the first place. Calvinism created a cruel God, Dualism condemns that Deity, casting him as a false god, a lesser being of evil rather than good. Calvinism condemns the physical debaucheries of corrupt matter, reviling humanity, yet at the same time invites praise for God's creation of Man in His image. Dualism argues that God might have made the soul and animated the body, but He did not make the body, thus it is not in His image and can be loathed with impunity. Despite having a different overall outlook to, Dualist dogma would have built upon the Calvinist foundations of Byron's religious belief, such as it was.

Although there are obviously countless potential examples for this discussion, both in religious treatises and in the literature written by Calvinists, a selection must be made. Given that this work is centred on Byron, the authors and poets that have been chosen were picked either because of their importance and relevance to Byron, or because their work is so well known that it would have been virtually impossible for him not to have been aware of them. In the case of the religious tracts, they have been selected because of their great influence on the development and evolution of Calvinism in Scotland and England.

¹¹ T. Bozeman, 'To Live Ancient Lives', cited in D.G. Mullan, *Scottish Puritanism 1590 – 1638* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p.5.

The Tragical Histoy of the Life and Death of Doctor Faustus.

With new Additions.

Written by *Ch. Mar.*



LONDON,
Printed for *John Wright*, and are to be sold at his shop without
Newgate, at the signe of the Bible. 1620.

Figure 90: Frontispiece from *Doctor Faustus*, by Christopher Marlowe.

Men have a Spiritual Origin in a Carnal Body¹²

At the end of the nineteenth century the noted Protestant theologian J.B. Lightfoot wrote that 'the flesh hates the soul and wars with it'. He continued by discussing the Protestant condemnation of the 'pleasures' of this world in which they are 'shut up [...] as in a prison house'.¹³ These concepts are the foundation blocks of Calvinist theology, yet at the same time they are nearly identical with Dualist doctrines. In a similar fashion to Dualism, Calvinists believed that the human form was made up of 'flesh and spirit', combining 'heaven and earth' in every person.¹⁴ These quotations come from the nineteenth-century Bible Commentary by Matthew Henry, an extremely popular text providing key insights into the beliefs of that period. Like Dualists, Calvinists believed that the 'image and likeness of God cannot be in the body; for God is a spirit', thus the soul is divine whereas the body is mortal. This comes from Thomas Scott's Commentary on the same biblical passage, which is equally valuable for eighteenth-century Protestant beliefs.¹⁵ Scott describes how Mankind has been 'stripped of the robe of their innocence and despoiled of the ornament of the image of God' by the Edenic couple's Fall.¹⁶ Calvin makes a similar allusion when he describes Man as a 'miserable ruin' after being 'spoiled of his divine array', reduced to a 'mass of deformity'.¹⁷ The imagery is reminiscent of the Dualist aetiological myths concerning human souls as fallen angels or fragments of the Divine Light. Their divine origin makes souls pure and perfect.

The veneration of the soul results in a corresponding degradation of the corporeal body, doomed to deterioration and death in both Calvinism and Dualism. The imagery used by Calvinists is extremely similar to that of Dualist works such as the *Cologne Mani Codex* with its denigrations of the body as 'a thing defiled and fashioned through foulness'.¹⁸ Dualists frequently utilise motifs of dirt and clay for the body and so do Calvinist writers with an equivalent aim. Calvin's *Institutes* contain countless examples of his hatred of the material body as 'distorted, mangled

¹² *Book of Two Principles*, Wakefield and Evans, p.461.

¹³ J.B. Lightfoot, *Historical Essays* (London: Macmillan & Co, 1896), p.5.

¹⁴ M. Henry, *Commentary*, Genesis 1.26-28.

¹⁵ T. Scott, *Commentary*, Genesis 1.26. Byron knew of Scott from his conversations with Kennedy, and actually read and discussed the above passage from Genesis; Kennedy, pp. 40-43.

¹⁶ Scott, Genesis 3.7.

¹⁷ *Institutes* 1.1-11.

¹⁸ CMC, p.41.

and filthily spotted', so wholly 'corrupted that all remains is but ugly deformity'.¹⁹ This reflects the prevailing Calvinist views concerning the paltry origins of the human form, reiterating the Calvinist belief in Total Depravity and the idea that physical deformity reflects inner corruption.

Calvinist literature provides a rich source of examples. The language of the above excerpts is comparable to that of Marlowe's reprobate Faustus who bemoans his 'most vile and loathsome filthiness',²⁰ which 'pulls [him] down' when he would 'leap up' to God.²¹ Byron depicts a similar concept when Cain is weighed down by the 'dull mass of life'.²² As noted earlier, the character of Faustus has Dualist roots, based on the Gnostic founder, Simon Magus, who challenged St Peter in Acts 8, while the name is taken from Augustine's Manichean opponent.²³ Similarly, Tamburlaine dismisses all around him as mere 'lumps of clay' contrasting their 'massy dregges' with his own spiritual glory, believing himself to be elect. The presentation and views of these two characters are particularly interesting given the combination of Calvinist doctrines and Dualist origins in both works. Spenser's *Faerie Queene* is another extremely useful source. Whereas, like Byron, Marlowe's plays are a deliberate combination of Calvinism and Dualism owing to his Calvinist upbringing and knowledge of Dualist doctrines, Spenser seems to have been relatively unaware of Dualism so the parallels are coincidental. His work is positively littered with derogatory descriptions of the body. The soul is 'soyld with fowl iniquity' by the body which 'clothes it with sinful mire'. It should 'rule the earthly masse' but is instead imprisoned and corroded by the sins of the flesh.²⁴ The notion of the complex, aesthetically pleasing human form as nothing more than a muddy bog of sin is possibly more shocking to the modern reader than it would have been to Spenser's Anglican Protestant audience who adhered to Calvin's teachings concerning humanity's Total Depravity. The use of 'mire' is particularly compelling, conveying the impression of a clinging quagmire. When combined with 'sinful', this image of

¹⁹ *Institutes* 2.1.6, 1.15.3.

²⁰ C. Marlowe, *Faustus* V.i.41. Byron certainly knew of the play, and makes various references to specific scenes in his conversations with Medwin, pp. 114-115.

²¹ *Ibid* V.ii.70.

²² *Cain* II.ii.20.

²³ H. Jonas, *The Gnostic Religion* (London: Beacon Press, 3rd ed., 2001), p.111.

²⁴ *FQ* II.8.62.

the body as a perilous trap designed to suck the soul into a vortex of sin is a vivid expression of Calvinist denigration of the physical form.

Even the renowned Scottish theologian Samuel Rutherford writes of his conviction that ‘corruption is rank and fat within’ him. Another Scotsman, the prominent Edinburgh Divine Robert Rollock condemns himself as a ‘vile leprous creature’ and the Scottish author William Narnie attacks himself as ‘altogether defiled and filthily polluted’.²⁵ This language is nearly identical to that of Mani, Faustus and Tamburlaine, demonstrating how the themes of defilement, pollution, dirt and corruption are used by Dualists and Calvinists alike.

The fact that these sources are all Scottish makes them particularly relevant in connection with Byron and his ingrained Calvinism. After all, Scottish Calvinism is known to have been stricter than other variants and so closer to Dualism with its extreme anti-somatism. Therefore Byron’s indoctrination in Scottish Calvinism would have made Dualism even more attractive due to the pronounced similarities between the two faiths. This concept is supported by the noticeable parallels between the liturgy of the Church of Scotland and a Dualist prayer. The Scottish congregations are encouraged to bewail their ‘manifold sins’ which they have committed in ‘thought and word and deed’, in a similar fashion to the ‘Confession’ in the Church of England *Book of Common Prayer*, another Protestant text. The Dualist prayer begs forgiveness:

We are full of defects and sins, we are deep in guilt; [...] we always and incessantly, in thought, in word and in action, in seeking with our eyes, in hearing with our ears, in speaking with our mouths [...] torment the light.²⁶

This comprehensive affirmation of wickedness is positively Calvinist in its self-loathing abasement, yet it is a Dualist text.

Such self-loathing arises from a conviction of the innate degeneracy of the mortal form. As with Dualists, the Calvinist belief in Total Depravity led them to attribute all wicked inclinations to the body. Dualists argue that the material body imprisons the soul and so its lusts corrode the soul’s purity, tarnishing the Divine

²⁵ Cited in Mullan, *Scottish Puritanism*, pp.114, 49-50.

²⁶ Holroyd, *Gnosticism*, p.60.

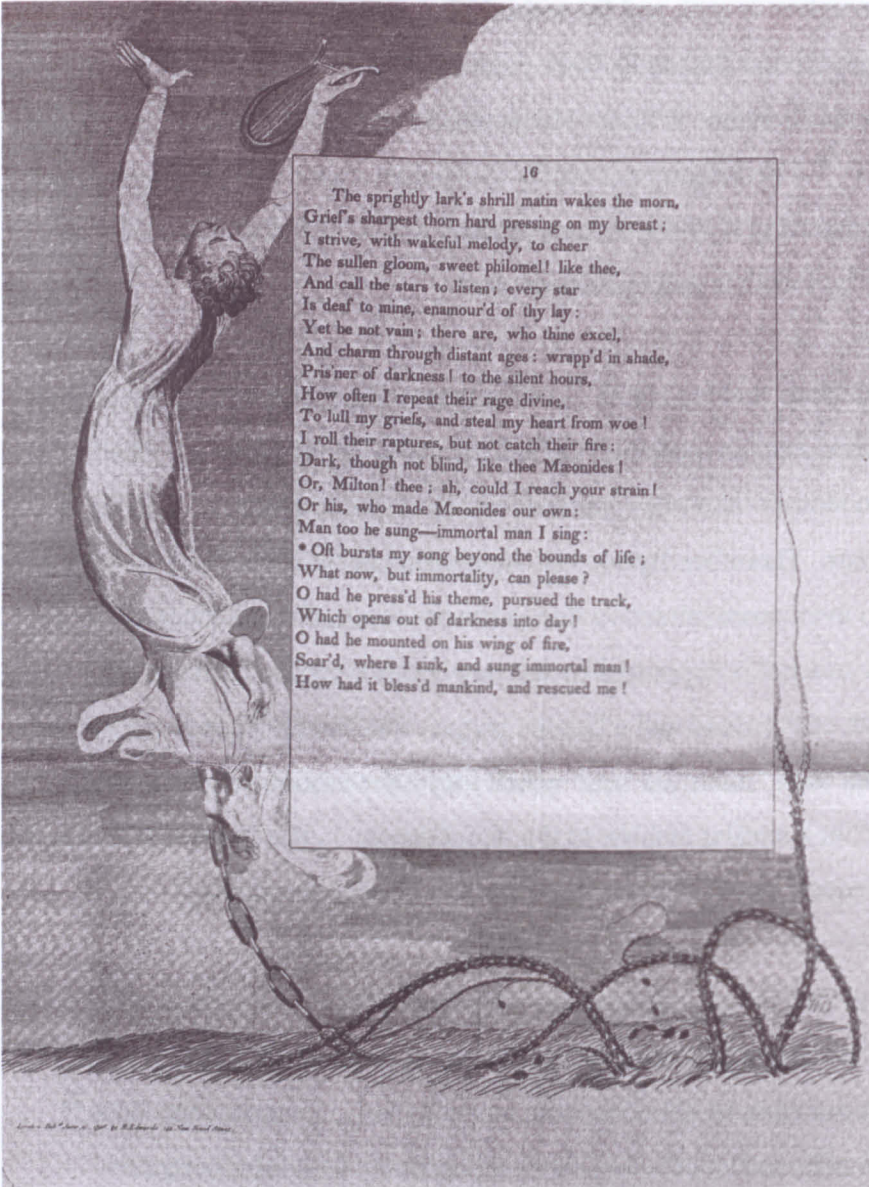


Figure 91: Illustration by William Blake.

Light. This is because ‘flesh is made up of pollution itself’.²⁷ Mani mourns his former purity:

Before I clothed myself in this instrument, and before I was led astray in this detestable flesh, and before I clothed myself with its drunkenness and habits.²⁸

In a similar fashion Calvin states that mankind is subject to ‘many vices and much weakness, so long as we are enclosed in the prison of the body’.²⁹ Like many prisons where inmates often seem to learn more tricks of the criminal trade during their incarceration, Calvin depicts the soul as increasing in depravity during its sojourn in the ‘prison of the body’. Returning again to *Faustus* we find further evidence of this concept in the despairing reprobate’s self loathing for his degenerate body:

Of thy most vile and loathsome filthiness,
The stench whereof corrupts the inward soul
With such flagitious crimes of heinous sin.³⁰

Here can be seen the association of the outer ‘stench’ of sin with the soul’s pollution. Similarly, Calvin writes that when the soul is trapped in the body it is:

Burdened with sin, obscured with darkness, ensnared by allurements, teeming with lusts, ruled by passion, filled with delusions, ever prone to evil, [and] inclined to every vice.³¹

Taken in isolation, it would be almost impossible to determine whether this statement was written by a Calvinist or a Dualist and shows the reasoning behind the Calvinist denigration of the body, as well as the Dualist rationale, that the body *is* corruption, and its ‘lusts’ and ‘passions’ degrade the soul, trapping it in the delusive darkness of sin.

Various Dualist texts describe the glories which await the soul once it is ‘stripped of its fleshly robes’.³² This is similar to Cowper’s aforementioned perception of his earthly existence as a ‘fleshly tomb’ which his soul yearns to escape.³³ Spenser also describes how only death can release the soul, allowing her to ‘flit from her cage’ and finally be free, ‘assoyld from sinful fleshlinesse’ once ‘unbodied of the burdenous

²⁷ Augustine, *Morals of the Manicheans*, X.37.

²⁸ CMC, p.19.

²⁹ *Institutes* 1.5.20.

³⁰ *Faustus* I.13.41-44.

³¹ *Institutes* 3.2.25.

³² Wakefield and Evans, p. 453, also p.484.

³³ ‘Hatred and Vengeance’ St. 5.

corpse'. The body as a cage for the bird-like soul is a frequent image in antisomatic texts, both Calvinist and Dualist. Byron himself uses it frequently to much the same effect, as shown in Chapter Two. The notion of 'sinful fleshliness' is equally familiar, as is the notion of the body as a burden of dead or dying meat. However the two words 'assoyld' and 'unbodied' are interesting because they imply a return to a former state, a freedom from strictures placed upon the original entity. So 'assoyld' intimates that not only is the soul cleansed of the filth of sin but that it did not have to endure such a stain originally. Similarly, 'unbodied' reminds the reader that the soul was not meant to be weighed down by a meaty carcass, the death of which has released it back to its former ethereal incorporeality.

The recurrent motif of the soul's flight when released from the body's confinement can also be found in the eighteenth-century Protestant Bishop Beilby Porteous' poem 'Death':³⁴

Till my rapt soul, anticipating Heaven,
Bursts from the thralldom of encumb'ring clay,
And on the wings of ecstasy upborn,
Springs into Liberty, and Light, and Life!³⁵

The contrast between the 'rapt soul' and 'encumb'ring clay' reveals the author's disgust for his temporal existence. This is reinforced by the possessive pronoun describing the soul and the dismissive description of the dragging weight of clay. The word 'clay' has a number of negative connotations owing to its slimy, clammy texture and unpleasant odour. The tacky stickiness of clay further reinforces the associations of bondage. It is not merely imprisonment which the soul suffers but 'thralldom' – an existence of subjugated servitude to the needs and lusts of its prison. The contrast between the inexpressible miseries of this existence and the joyous sense of freedom conveyed by words such as 'bursts' and 'springs', combined with the beautiful description of the soul's 'wings of ecstasy' further reinforces the misery of mortal life. Finally, the alliteration and capitalisation of words in the last line, in conjunction with the emphatic exclamation mark, creates a sense of Revolutionary fervour, while

³⁴ BLJ XIII. 92, a letter to Murray asking for a copy of Porteous' works. Porteous was an Anglican Bishop and chaplain to the king, educated at Calvinist Cambridge and friends with Johnson. See also Appendix 1 and Appendix 3, number 266. For more details of Porteous see J. Hunt, *Religious Thought in England in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Gibbings & Co, 1896), pp. 10-30.

³⁵ Fairchild, *Religious Trends*, II, p.66.

insinuating the fact that the soul's corporeal life was wholly destitute of Liberty and Light. It was not therefore a real Life, but a mere drudgery that must be endured rather than enjoyed. This poem could easily have been written by a Dualist rather than a Calvinist. This excerpt portrays the aforementioned belief, shared by both faiths, that this life is not to be valued, merely suffered, until the spirit can escape its fleshly chains and re-enter Heaven. Blake's image of the Soul as literally chained to the earth provides a beautiful visual accompaniment to these lines, though the drawing is in fact the illustration to Blake's 'Oft Bursts my Song'.

Another illustration of the Calvinist denigration of the corporeal existence and veneration of the soul can be found in the frontispiece of *Two Choice and Useful Treatises*.³⁶ The soul is a glorious eagle, released from a decaying skeletal carcass, yearning to ascend into the celestial heavens. However, it is held down by the figures of pleasure and pain cruelly standing on the wings of the eagle, representing how the material corruptions of the body imprison the soul. In the distance can be seen the figure of a soul entering heaven in a great blaze of light. While the middle ground illustrates that although man might stand higher than the animals, he is still a great distance from heaven itself and his physical manifestation cannot hope to attain the 'aethereal realm' due to its corruption.

Milton's *Of Reformation in England* condemns the ostentatious trappings of Catholicism as materialistic, corrupting the soul by distracting it from the ascetic purity of heavenly contemplation. He describes how the 'Soul by this means of over-bodilying herself' succumbs to the lures of 'fleshly delights' and 'bated her Wing apace downward' towards the earth. She yields to the suggestions of her 'Sensuous Colleague the Body' and is tempted too near the earth by its pleasures. Then her wings are broken and she is too tired to attempt 'the labour of high soaring any more'. She forgets her celestial origin and 'heavenly flight' and is forced to follow the 'dull and droyling Carcase' as it plods along 'in the old Road' and endure 'the drudging Trade of Conformity'.³⁷ This beautifully written passage evokes pity for the Soul and hatred for the seductive Body which lures the innocent Soul away from her true place

³⁶ (London:1682), from P.C. Almond, *Heaven and Hell in Enlightenment England* (Cambridge: University Press, 1994), p.115.

³⁷ *Of Reformation in England* (1641) in Glover, p.40; see Appendix 3, number 232.



Figure 92: Frontispiece from *Two Choice and Useful Treatises*, 1682.

in heaven. The simplicity of the Soul is conveyed by her single name, moreover, it sides the reader with her as it gives the impression of first name terms, reinforced by the female pronoun. However, the Body is another matter entirely. The full name of this individual, 'Sensuous Colleague the Body' implies a formality and reiterates its hedonistic character. This is done not only by mentioning its sensuality but also by intimating that the Body is materialistic and proud of its titles. There is a harsh contrast between 'labour' and 'high soaring' which jolts the reader; soaring implies liberating ease and agility. The description of flying as a labour conjures an image of frantic flapping and heaving lungs, rather like a heavy, middle-aged smoker trying to run. This shows how low the Soul has sunk, tainted by the Body's materialism. This contrast appears again between 'heavenly flight' and the 'dull and droyling Carcass' whose actions are equally dreary - as signified by 'plod' and 'drudging'. In fact, it is rather similar to a Cathar confession which describes how the devil had made 'tunics of flesh' for the angels 'which they could not escape and in which they would forget the good and the joy that they had had in heaven'.³⁸ There are again parallels with Byron's various descriptions of the active participation of 'this clay' which, 'envying' the soul's 'light', deliberately seeks 'to break the link / That keeps us from yon heaven'.³⁹ As will be discussed later, Milton is another like Marlowe who had actual contact with Dualist texts. This makes his works doubly interesting owing to the complex interaction of Dualism and Calvinism in a similar fashion to that of Byron's works. It is arguable that Milton and Marlowe, like Byron, were attracted to Dualism and incorporated it in their works because of its similarities with their pre-existing Protestant inclinations.

Calvinist Austerity and Dualist Asceticism

Dualists teach that *all* matter is corrupt and, like the body, corrupting. The entire world is a delusive snare designed to tempt then trap the divine soul. This resulted in an extreme self-abnegative asceticism, alluded to previously. Dualists avoided sex, wine, meats and other luxuries of the flesh. Calvinists also practised a similar austerity as shown in the comprehensive list of forbidden 'works of the flesh' mentioned in Chapter One.⁴⁰ The eighteenth-century Aberdeen Calvinist Bisset

³⁸ *Vision of Isaiah*, Wakefield and Evans, p.450.

³⁹ *CHP* III.14.

⁴⁰ *Institutes* 2.1.8. Bunyan also warns against the seductive power of 'the lusts and fruits of the flesh' in *Grace Abounding*, p.9.

vociferously condemns ‘drunkenness, debauchery [...] whoredom’ and ‘all sensual excesses’ on the grounds that ‘immoderate pursuit of sensual gratification degrades and vilifies the soul’ and ‘unfits it’ for heaven.⁴¹ This is practically Dualistic in its assertion that physical pleasures corrupt the soul, barring it from heaven. The frequent Protestant reprints of the fifteenth-century text *Imitation of Christ* which vividly describes the fates of ‘lovers of luxury and pleasure’ who will be ‘drenched in burning pitch and stinking sulphur’, attests to the Calvinist belief that physical indulgence bars one from heaven. After all, the Great Fire of London was viewed as a Divine punishment for Gluttony by many Puritan Protestants, because it started at Pudding Lane and ended at Pie Corner.

One of the most surprisingly Dualistic Calvinist works on the topic of asceticism is a poem by Andrew Marvell, 1621-1678, titled *A Dialogue Between the Resolved Soul and Created Pleasure*.⁴² Another Cambridge Protestant, who went to the same college as Byron, was of the same generation as Milton and friends with Donne, Marvell provides a different source of Protestant literature, particularly as he is better known for his political poetry.⁴³ Chernaik describes Marvell as ‘a Puritan and a wit, a fastidious ironist and a committed believer’, and in a similar fashion to Byron, Marvell wrote a number of denunciations of the corruptions of the Clergy.⁴⁴ The explicit Dualism of his poem’s depiction of the soul’s rejection of the seductive blandishments of the material world necessitates its mention here. The title alone provides much food for thought, expressing not only the body-soul opposition but also referring to the conflict between the false pleasures of the material world, deliberately created to ensnare the immortal, uncreated soul. This poem depicts the Soul’s triumph over the enticements of the seven deadly sins, sensual pleasure and

⁴¹ J. Bisset, *A Sermon from Isaiah 26.9, a View of the Judgement of God Inflicted on Different Nations of the World, and on Great Britain in Particular* (Aberdeen: J. Chalmers & Co, 1794), pp.12, 14.

⁴² Boulger, *Calvinist Temper*, pp.187-204.

⁴³ T.N. Corus, *Uncloistered Virtue: English Political Literature, 1640-1660* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), pp.221-268, 309-312; A. Patterson, ‘Andrew Marvell and the Revolution’, in *Cambridge Companion to the Writing of the English Revolution*, ed. N.H. Keeble (Cambridge: CUP, 2001), pp.107-125.

⁴⁴ W. Chernaik, *The Poet's Time: Politics and Religion in the Work of Andrew Marvell* (Cambridge: University Press 1983), p.14. One such denunciation can be seen in *Rehearsal Transposed* where Marvell warns that ‘it is not impossible that a man by evil arts may have crept into the Church [...] ‘Tis not improbable that having so got in he should foul the Pulpit, and afterwards the Press with opinions destructive to Humane Society and the Christian Religion [...] for they do but abuse themselves who shall any longer consider or reverence such a one as a Clergyman’, II, pp.163-163, cited in Chernaik, p.8.



Figure 93: French Engraving from 1670 showing the Devil seducing adherents through greed.⁴³

⁴³ J. O'Grady, *The Prince of Darkness*, frontispiece.

spiritual or intellectual temptations. Boulger comments on the Dualistic tone struck by this poem, describing the Soul's rejection of Created Pleasure as 'typical only of Manichaeism, extreme Augustinianism and Puritanism in Christian tradition'.⁴⁵ It is a testament to the explicit Dualism of this work that this is almost the only occasion where Boulger acknowledges a congruence between any of the Dualistic sects and Calvinist Christianity in the entirety of his work on Calvinism in English literature. Toliver argues that Marvell was deliberately seeking to avoid Manichaeism, which implies that he was aware of the heresy and reacting against it rather than inadvertently emulating it.⁴⁶ Either way, the Dualist tones of this piece cannot be ignored:

Pleasure:	Welcome Creation's Guest Lord of Earth and Heaven's Heir Lay aside that Warlike Crest And of Nature's banquet share: Where the Souls of fruits and flowr's Stand prepar'd to heighten yours
Soul:	I sup above and cannot stay To bate so long upon the way. ⁴⁷

The explicit contrast between Pleasure and Soul is reinforced by the Dialogue format. Moreover, Pleasure is cast as an actual entity, a sort of Madame overseeing the bawdy house of the world which, like any successful brothel, seeks to cater for every palate. One subsequent line refers to the 'batteries of alluring sense', a reference to the Calvinist view of sensual pleasures as diabolic weapons directed against the Soul, seeking to overwhelm its defences. Toliver argues that Marvell utilises 'the stock warfare metaphor of the puritans'.⁴⁸ Like the Dualists, they genuinely believed in a battle between the lusts of the flesh and the celestial aspirations of the soul, a vicious conflict resulting in damnation or salvation. The description of the Soul as a 'guest' reinforces the impression of a visitor to the bordello and underlines the fact that it is merely a visitor in, and independent from, material Creation. When combined with the frequent allusions to 'above' in the poem, this reinforces the notion that the Soul

⁴⁵ Boulger, *Calvinist Temper*, p.199.

⁴⁶ H.E. Toliver, 'The Strategy of Marvell's Resolve against Created Pleasure', *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*, 4, (1964), pp. 57-69.

⁴⁷ *The Poetical Works of Andrew Marvell* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co, 1857), p.109.

⁴⁸ Toliver, 'The Strategy of Marvell's Resolve against Created Pleasure', p.59.

was formed in heaven out of some more celestial substance than that of the material world.

Incidentally, given the number of articles examining relatively minor points of comparison between Marvell and Shakespeare, it is valid to point out the parallels between Marvell's Soul, nobly resisting all the seductive temptations of material world, and the character of Marina in the play *Pericles, Prince of Tyre*, thought to have been half written by Shakespeare. Suffering a series of misadventures throughout her short life and subjected to the jealousy of her foster parents Marina, Pericles' daughter, is captured by pirates and sold to a brothel in Mytilene. There she preaches the values of virtue to 'the lewdly-inclined' and manages to keep her own, refusing 'to live in pleasure'.⁴⁹ The men are struck at hearing 'divinity preached' in a brothel and turn from 'bawdy houses' to 'virtuous' activities,⁵⁰ leading the brothel owners to bemoan the fact that she is 'able to freeze the god / Priapus, and undo a whole generation'.⁵¹ Marina's 'virginal fencing' leads to her triumph as she is allowed to leave the brothel unsullied, eventually being reunited with her father and making a good marriage. The context of the brothel scene has similar connotations to Marvell's poem. Both the Resolved Soul and Marina refuse to succumb to worldly blandishments such as wealth and pleasure, instead turning to God and 'holy words' and thereby retaining their virtue. This not only shows the parallels between Protestant and Dualist ideologies but also is arguably another example of the Elizabethan knowledge of Dualist doctrines, which manifests itself in the works of Shakespeare and Marlowe.

Returning to Spenser, *Faerie Queene* contains one of the most persuasive and evocative depictions of the Calvinist ascetic drive and the reasons behind it. Having converted to Christianity and therefore being convinced of his Total Depravity, the Knight starts to loathe himself and the world. He is plunged into Despair when 'the darte of sinfull guilt the soule dismayes'.⁵² Calvinist sin-consciousness and Despair have a similar effect to the Dualist belief that humanity is created by the Evil

⁴⁹ *Pericles: The Prince of Tyre*, (Forgotten Books, 2008), www.forgottenbooks.org, (unnumbered lines), IV.ii.135, 174

⁵⁰ IV.v.5.

⁵¹ IV.vi.949-950.

⁵² *FQ* I.10.21.



Figure 94: Andrew Marvell.

Principle, namely a pronounced self-loathing, persuaded of his 'Inward corruption and infected sin'. This conviction leads the knight, like his Dualist predecessors, to hide away in 'a darksome lowly place' and clothe himself in 'ashes and in sackcloth'. He 'dietet with fasting every day' until all the 'superfluous flesh did rott'. The knight believes that his ascetic suffering would purify him for heaven, leaving 'not one corrupted jott'. The number of parallels between these stanzas and Dualist texts is overwhelming. Spenser beautifully conveys the Protestant conviction that sin is a disease, a 'festering sore' that corrodes every part of the soul and cannot be 'purg'd or healed'.⁵³ He presents this awareness of sin, caused by alienation from God, as the reason for Calvinist-Puritan asceticism. In a similar fashion, Dualists believe that the soul is a fragment severed from the Divine Light and corrupted by its prison. The Calvinist denigration of the body depicted here again corresponds with the Dualist views; there is an almost joyful recognition of the flesh as literally rotting away, taking corruption with it. This image reveals the extent of the Protestant-Puritan self-loathing and belief in the evil of matter.

There are various aspects of asceticism, both Calvinist and Dualist. These include an adherence to the Apostolic lifestyle of Spartan severity, the renunciation of sexual activity, abjuration of alcohol and frugal eating habits. The condemnation of fornication by both Dualists and Calvinists has already been discussed, though a brief examination of Byron's poetry is worthwhile here. The character of Lucifer, the immortal passionless angel, derides human pleasures and the material temptations of the world as:

the most gross and petty paltry wants,
All foul and fulsome, and the very best
Of thine enjoyments a sweet degradation.⁵⁴

It is interesting that it is in the mouth of a spirit that Byron chooses to put these words – Lucifer is unable to appreciate such physical amusements. Not being trapped in a corrupted body, his 'soul' cannot be lured into temptation and thus asceticism can have no meaning for such as he because for him the world holds no pleasures. The fact that it is the immortal Lucifer who experiences neither love nor lust nor pity, who describes the human existence as 'gross' and 'paltry' shows Byron's understanding of

⁵³ *FQ* I.10.25-26.

⁵⁴ *Cain* II.i.54-56.

this essential facet of Calvinist and Dualist teachings. The basic teaching of both beliefs is that self-denial in this existence will have great rewards in the next life, rendering such abstinence worthwhile. Lucifer's speech here seems to provide support for this view – he is already experiencing a purely spiritual existence and finds no attractions in material lusts and pleasures.

Byron's Calvinist-Dualist perceptions of body and soul are also evident in his handling of the Enochic tale of angelic and mortal love in *Heaven and Earth*. Despite favouring the lovers who are shown to escape the drowning world, remaining together in the face of Divine displeasure, the poem is very clear about the immorality of their union, representing it as a corruption of the celestial perfections. Angels should be 'passionless and pure', like Lucifer in *Cain*, not:

Stung with strange passions, and debased

By mortal feelings for a mortal maid.⁵⁵

The contrast between 'passionless and pure' and 'debased' combined with the repetition of 'mortal' heightens the reader-awareness of the disparity of this mismatch. The word 'debased' suggests the taint of corruption, tarnishing the refined angelic purity with the blackening smears of coarse emotion. 'Stung' provides an implication of poison by some creature whose sting contains lust rather than venom, and further condemns their passion. These lines express a similar concept of degredation to Milton's lines on Satan becoming 'alien from heaven / With passions foul obscured'.⁵⁶ The idea of emotional turmoil barring one from heaven is akin to that presented by Byron, though his Angels are in love rather than consumed by hatred.

The most curious resemblance between Dualist asceticism and Calvinist austerity is not related to their views on sex, but those on food. Dualists hate the shedding of blood. The OT God's demands for living sacrifices, so emphatically condemned in Byron's *Cain*, was one of the central Dualist arguments for His being the Evil Principle. Many Dualists were so convinced that sex was created by the Evil Principle to lure people into creating more prison-bodies that they refused to eat any foods which were the product of copulation. This meant that many Dualists were not

⁵⁵ *HE* I.iii.543-544.

⁵⁶ *PL* IV.572-573.

only vegetarians but also vegan. Weiss' translation of the Cathar confessions contains a description of the eating habits of a Cathar Perfecti or priest:

He no longer eats meats, animal fat, eggs, cheese, milk [...] In each week he fasts for three days on bread and water, and lives a life of integrity, because he does not touch women and he does not lie with them; nor does he kill anything that lives.⁵⁷

Although Calvinists did not go quite as far as this nonetheless they, like Spenser's knight, did seek to 'with straight diet tame' the 'stubborn malady' of sin.⁵⁸ Many Calvinists believed that meat and wine roused the darker passions in the soul, while fruits and vegetables calmed it, enhancing the spirit. Marvell's *Created Pleasure* alludes to this.⁵⁹

The conception of vegetarianism as what would now be termed a 'lifestyle choice' arose during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The Vegetarian Movement, as it was known, is often linked with Calvinism and perceived as evolving out of 'radical Puritan theology'.⁶⁰ Guerrini's article notes that although 'vegetarianism has a long history in Western culture', it experienced a dynamic reemergence in the Calvinist milieu of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, corresponding with the emergence and spread of Calvinism.⁶¹ Like Dualists, Calvinist vegetarians believed that meat and wine corrupted the soul – many argued that Adam was initially a vegetarian who only killed and ate meat *after* the Fall.⁶² Another example is the Lutheran theologian Boehme, 1575-1624, whose *Signature Rerum* argues that the flame-light of the 'Oyl' of the soul 'burneth clear' when only water and vegetables are eaten, opening the mind to God. However rich foods, meat and wine cause 'a corruption or poisoning of the Oyl', resulting in disease and sin.⁶³ One of the most noted vegetarians in the context of Byron's time was the eighteenth-century Aberdeen Calvinist, George Cheyne, who argued that the bodies of 'flesh

⁵⁷ Weiss, p.76.

⁵⁸ *FQ* I.10.25.

⁵⁹ 'Where the Souls of fruits and flow'rs / Stand prepar'd to heighten yours.'

⁶⁰ T. Morton, 'Introduction', in *Radicalism in British Literary Culture 1650-1830*, eds. T. Morton and N. Smith (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p.13. See also D.W. Allen, 'Greeks, Indians and the Scottish Presbyterian: Vegetarians in Scotland', *1650-1850: Ideas, Aesthetics and Inquiries in the Early Modern Era*, 6, (2001), pp.265-297.

⁶¹ A. Guerrini, 'Diet for a Sensitive Soul: Vegetarianism in Eighteenth-Century Britain', *Eighteenth-Century Life*, 23, (1999), pp. 34-42.

⁶² T. Morton, 'The Plantation of Wrath', in *Radicalism in British Literary Culture*, p. 70.

⁶³ Cited in Morton, 'Plantation of Wrath', p.67.



Figure 95: Portrait of Percy Shelley, by Amelia Curran.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ From the National Portrait Gallery.

consumers' became 'corrupted and putrefied' and their spirits were 'deprav'd and degenerated' by eating meat.⁶⁴ Cheyne's work provides an interesting insight into the ascetic renunciation of meat which can be inspired by Calvinism.⁶⁵

One of the most famous nineteenth-century vegetarians and certainly the most relevant for this discussion is Shelley.⁶⁶ His friendship with Peacock, Foster and Newton brought him into contact with the Vegetarian Movement and many of its key figures and he wrote a number of essays on the topic, expressing a view of vegetarianism akin to that of the Manichean Dualists.⁶⁷ Interestingly, these three names are all associated with Dualism to varying extents.⁶⁸ Shelley writes that he holds 'that the depravity of the physical and moral nature of man originated in his unnatural habits of life' subsequently remarking that 'disease and crime have flowed from that unnatural diet'.⁶⁹ He elsewhere argued that Prometheus' theft of fire and the punishment for this crime, the vulture pecking out his perpetually re-growing liver, was an allegory of Man's discovery of fire and cooked meats and the diseases which inevitably arose from this bloody diet. Eating this murdered meat causes 'mental and bodily derangement'.⁷⁰ Bunwick's article on the 'Vegetarian Shelley' discusses Shelley's belief that the mind, perverted by a sort of blood-crazed vampirism, turns to alcohol and all manner of evils then ensue.⁷¹ Shelley's vegetarianism is particularly interesting given that he, like Peacock, Byron and the Medieval Cathars, believes that God's demands for living sacrifices and the fact that his religion causes widespread bloodshed and war is proof that he is not good, but an 'almighty fiend' who created humanity 'in his sport / To triumph in their torments when they fell', and is always 'hungering for blood'.⁷²

⁶⁴ G. Cheyne, *Essay on Regimen Together with Five Discourses, Medical, Moral and Philosophical* (London: 1740), p.145.

⁶⁵ Guerrini, 'Sensitive Soul', pp. 34-39.

⁶⁶ L. Hunt, review of *Revolt of Islam* in the *Examiner* (1816), p.636.

⁶⁷ J. Ruston, 'Vegetarianism and Vitality in the Work of Thomas Forster, William Laurence and P.B. Shelley', *Keats Shelley Journal*, 55, (2005), pp.113-132.

⁶⁸ Butler, 'Romantic Manichaeism', pp.13-15.

⁶⁹ Notes, *Queen Mab*, p.816.

⁷⁰ Shelley, 'A Vindication of a Natural Diet', *Prose Works*, I, p.97.

⁷¹ J. Bunwick, 'The Revolt of Islam: Vegetarian Shelley and the Narrative of Mental Pathology', *The Wordsworth Circle*, 40, (2009), pp. 87-93; Ruston, 'Vegetarianism and Vitality', p.113.

⁷² *Queen Mab*, II.150-157; IV. 211-217; VI.108-110, 222-225; VII.97, 123-126.

But what about Byron's vegetarian inclinations? Even the briefest glance through Marchand's *Letters and Journals* reveal numerous examples of his obsession with healthy eating and losing weight. Although Byron's dieting was often aesthetical rather than religious, he notably wrote 'I must be thin, even at the Expense of Health',⁷³ it is still relevant given the pronounced affinity between Calvinist vegetarianism and Dualist veganism and the logic behind these habits. Moreover, he also appears to have believed that 'heavy meals, especially if they contained meats, increased the passions',⁷⁴ and refused to be 'the slave of any appetite'.⁷⁵ Byron claimed he was a vegetarian because eating meat caused him to 'get ill' and lose 'all power over his intellect'. He argued that eating 'animal food engendered the appetite of the animal fed upon'.⁷⁶ By the time Byron returned from his travels in 1811, owing to various events including a stomach illness and a desire to lose weight, he had adopted a predominantly vegetarian diet which he adhered to for much of the remainder of his life. As he warned his mother on the advent of his homecoming, 'I have been restricted to an entire vegetable diet, neither fish nor flesh coming within my regimen' also warning that 'I drink no wine'.⁷⁷ On occasions this vegetarian diet was thought to be a pose, such as the infamous occasion of his supper with Samuel Rogers at which he refused everything but bruised potatoes and vinegar.⁷⁸ Reared in the Calvinist environment of Scotland, taught that fleshly indulgence caused corruption resulting in damnation, it is hardly surprising that Byron would have been drawn to an ascetic diet, particularly one which pandered to his vanity. His knowledge of Dualist denigration of the physical form, combined with his own Calvinist convictions of the same, meant that the vegetarian theories of friends such as Shelley concerning the soul's pollution by ingested matter would not have surprised him and would rather have reinforced his own inclinations. Certainly Byron's desire to control the material part of his body can be seen in his recollection of practising with the noted pugilist Jackson, 'so as to get matter under and give sway to the ethereal part of my nature'.⁷⁹ Boxing seems a curious means to free the soul; it is possible that

⁷³ BLJ XIII.2.

⁷⁴ A. Fleming, *Byron the Maker: Truth or Masquerade – an Exploration* (Sussex: Book Guild Publishing, 2006), p.40.

⁷⁵ BLJ III. 212.

⁷⁶ Blessington, pp. 113-114.

⁷⁷ BLJ II.44.

⁷⁸ MacCarthy, p.151.

⁷⁹ Guiccioli, I, p.453.



Figure 96: *Jacob Wrestling with the Angel*, by Eugene Delacroix. The painting is also thought to represent the body fighting with the soul and refusing enlightenment according to Kenneth Clark, *Romantic Rebellion*, pp. 153-154.

Byron's punishment of the body stems from a sadomasochistic impulse, in line with Bayle's remarks on Dualist beliefs that the body should be 'shamefully used and treated with all possible marks of dishonour'.⁸⁰ Thus on one level, it is possible to argue that the asceticism preached by both Calvinism and Dualism would have been a vital factor in Byron's attraction to the latter, following his increasingly well-publicised dissatisfaction with the former. For a man often given to luxurious decadence and self-indulgence,⁸¹ Byron was capable of astonishing periods of almost monastic self-denial.

Although it is possibly simply mere coincidence, it is interesting that the advent of the Vegetarian Movement and its rising popularity corresponds with the period during which Dualism experienced a similar rise in popularity and widespread public fascination. It would be too far to claim that the latter was the sole cause of the former, however, it might be argued that the spread of Dualist views, particularly those expressed in popular literature, might have encouraged the more ascetic aspects of Calvinism which was itself behind the vegetarian movement. Alternatively it might be that the spread of Dualism was itself fostered by the extreme asceticism of Calvinism. Regardless of the extent of the impact of Dualism behind the Calvinist vegetarian movement, Byron was certainly a frequent vegetarian, albeit not due to the same moral ideals and hypotheses as Shelley and Newton, as far as we can tell. His Calvinist background and his adoption of various Dualist doctrines would have provided him with an ample understanding of the need to mortify the flesh to enhance and release the soul.

'Jehovah upon earth and God in Heaven'⁸²

Calvinists and Dualists both repudiate the material world as a den of corruption and iniquity. Yet why is this? Dualists argue that the material world is tainted by the wickedness of its Creator, the Evil Principle. This Principle deliberately created the world as a trap for the Divine Light forcing it in the 'fleshly tunics' which he had fashioned as prisons. Unlike Dualists, Calvinists believed that the Creator God of the OT is the only God; there is no Evil Principle who made the material world. This

⁸⁰ *GHCD*, VII, 'Manichaeism' Note B.

⁸¹ This was particularly true in Venice where Shelley was actually repulsed by his friend's debauched hedonism, which he saw during a visit made in 1819, MacCarthy, p.341.

⁸² *Cain* III.i.248.

causes some difficulties. Despite this, many Calvinists still appear to have believed that there were two guiding principles: one urging towards sin and the other to salvation.

This denigration of the material world, typical of both Calvinism and Dualism, arises from their shared belief that corruption breeds corruption and good cannot come from evil. Although Dualists extrapolate this precept much further than Calvinists are able to do, nonetheless the concept of evil inevitably begetting evil can be found in both faiths. In fact, as with so many of their doctrines, both Calvinists and Dualists base this tenet on the Scriptures, particularly those of the NT.⁸³ Both faiths focus on Matthew 7.15-20 with its famous image of knowing evil ‘by its fruits’:

You will know them by their fruits. Are grapes gathered from thorns or figs from thistles? In the same way every good tree bears good fruit but the bad tree bears bad fruit.⁸⁴

The Calvinist appropriation of this concept can be seen in various examples. In particular, one eighteenth-century Scottish treatise asks ‘do men look to gather *grapes of thorns* or *figs of thistles*? Or can they expect from a *salt fountain* other than brackish water?’⁸⁵ This is the central tenet of Dualism, providing proof for the evil nature of the world’s creator, answers for the existence of evil, a reason for the hatred of the body, the veneration of the soul and evidence of the existence of a higher, Good Principle. Like his Dualist predecessors, Knox argues that ‘because as the tree is such so must the fruit be’, because ‘who can bring a clean thing out of that which is unclean’.⁸⁶ Thus the soul leans towards virtue while the body, tainted by Original Sin, is ineluctably drawn to vice.

The notion of evaluating someone’s morality by the fruits of their actions was addressed by Byron in *Cain*, not only the concept, but also the specific imagery of fruit. Lucifer urges Cain to examine Jehovah’s actions rather than the words of His worshippers. Cain openly states that he has no knowledge of Jehovah save by the ‘bitter’ fruits of his existence. Lucifer comments that good and evil are determined by

⁸³ John 3.6, 6.63, Galatians 5.16-21, Romans 13.14, 1John 2.15-17, Matthew 12.33-34, and 1 Corinthians 18.50.

⁸⁴ Cathars used it in *Book of Two Principles*, an Italian Cathar work, Wakefield and Evans, p.516.

⁸⁵ V. Knox, *Christian Philosophy: an Attempt to Display by Internal Testimony the Evidence and Excellence of Revealed Religion* (London: C. Dilly, 1798), p.51.

⁸⁶ Scott presents a similar argument concerning Genesis 1.26 in his Commentary.



Figure 97: *The Vain Lady sees the Devil's Posterior in her Mirror*, by Albrecht Dürer.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ From F. Dolan, 'Taking the Pencil out of God's Hand', p.229.

the nature of their Creator, rather than by the use to which they are put.⁸⁷ Thus Jehovah's lack of benevolence and despotism is proved by the misery of Cain's life and the hardships endured by his family. As was considered above, the symbolism of 'fruit' as an emblem of nurture and life and its negative connotations in connection with Jehovah in *Cain* provides further evidence of Byron's understanding of the biblical and doctrinal implications of this image. This understanding is arguably derived from his Calvinist upbringing and reinforced by his Dualist reading.

In Calvinist works, these two Principles are 'God in Heaven' and the scourging Satan to whom He has given control of the world for a finite period, as in Bogomil and Cathar literature. Examples of this concept run throughout Calvinist literature – it is after all a central tenet of Calvinism that Satan controls this world and works towards the damnation of men.⁸⁸ Thus in a similar manner to Dualist myths, Calvinists perceive the material pleasures of the world as a diabolic snare designed to corrode the soul and drag it into sin. Gillespie, in his article on the Devil, remarks that 'traditional Christianity has associated the Devil with the dangers of both unbridled sensuality and of the imagination and intellectual error'.⁸⁹ From this it can be inferred that Satan not only encourages sins of the flesh but also doubts and heresies. After all, the *Pater Noster*, the Lord's Prayer, begs God to 'lead us not into temptation but deliver us from evil', showing the belief in the Devil as inciting wickedness in opposition to God's desire for piety. Dualists adhere to a similar principle. Dualist texts from the eleventh to thirteenth centuries contain a number of descriptions of the Devil as a 'contriver of sin' and ruler of the material world.⁹⁰

Luther believed there were 'two kingdoms in the world which are bitterly opposed to each other'. He argued that Satan reigns over one and 'holds captive to his will all who are not snatched away from him by the Spirit of Christ'. In the other kingdom 'Christ reigns, and his kingdom ceaselessly resists and makes war on the kingdom of Satan'.⁹¹ Tyndale, who translated the vernacular English Bible, provides

⁸⁷ 'Then why is Evil – he being Good?' *Cain* l.i.285.

⁸⁸ John Knox condemned those who 'began to follow the warlde' and so 'shaik handis with the Devil'. Cited in Graham, 'Social Discipline', p.129.

⁸⁹ G. Gillespie, 'The Devil's Art', *European Romanticism*, ed. G. Hoffmeister, (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1990), p.78.

⁹⁰ *Interregatio Johannis*, Wakefield and Evans, pp. 459, 520, 469.

⁹¹ A. Sinfield, *Literature in Protestant England 1560-1660* (London: Croom & Helm, 1983), p.9.

some of the most explicit Protestant expressions of a Dualistic world-view. He writes that 'God and devil are two contrary fathers, two contrary fountains, and two contrary causes: one of all goodness and the other of all evil'.⁹² It is interesting that here he does not simply cast the devil as God's servant and jailor, ruling the material world. Instead Tyndale seems to perceive the devil as a sort of alternative power, God and devil are equal. The specific terms he uses convey a sense of procreative generation - 'father', 'fountain' and 'cause' are all images of sources. This places the devil on equal footing with God as a creative power, at least of emotional and moral effects. The concept of the devil as a sort of venal tyrant ruling the material world and locked in opposition with God's benevolent and virtuous reign can be seen frequently in Tyndale's translation of the Bible. In the prologue to his NT, he asserts that:

The devil is our Lord, and our ruler, our head, governor, yea and our God. And our will is locked unto the will of the devil'.⁹³

Although Calvinism does not teach that the world was fashioned by Satan, as Dualism does, Satan is cast as the ruler of this world. This gives him more power and would have made the Dualist argument that the OT God was the Evil Principle, corrupting the world with false prophecies, a more plausible concept - particularly for one so heavily indoctrinated in Calvinist teachings as Byron.⁹⁴ In both cases this tangible Devil is opposed by a distant, transcendent God who loves the spirit but loathes the fleshly aspects of His creatures.

Milton was another Calvinist whose works contain equally Dualistic imagery. *Paradise Lost* is almost as famous for its utilisation of pagan and heretical sources, and numerous allusions to alternative faiths and Gods, as it is known for its Protestantism.⁹⁵ Milton's *Eikonoklasres* and *Areopagitica* also contain a number of seemingly Dualistic passages. Milton's perception of Good and Evil as opposing forces inextricably entangled 'in the field of this world' and growing 'almost inseparably', conjures up images of the roiling mass of brambles and bind weed, tangled and twisted together, found on almost any hedgerow in Britain. In the same text he also describes these opposing forces as 'cleaving together as two twins' which

⁹² Tyndale, *Expositions and Notes on Sunday Portions of the Holy Scriptures, Together with the Practise of Prelates*, ed. H. Walter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1849), p.190.

⁹³ Tyndale, Prologue to NT.

⁹⁴ Manfred refuses Arimanes 'what the whole earth accords', II.iv.42-44, and Arimanes is described as having control over earthly elements further reiterating his dominion over the material world.

⁹⁵ Byron was aware that *PL* 'makes use of heathen mythology', Medwin, p.62.

‘leapt forth into the world’ from ‘out of the rind of one apple’.⁹⁶ This image of the inextricable entanglement of two identical and opposed forces is extremely Dualistic. It is very similar to a passage in the *Zend Avesta* describing these ‘two fundamental spirits’ as ‘twins which are renowned to be in conflict. In thought and in word, in action, they are two: the good and the bad’.⁹⁷ This notion of good and evil as opposing twins evolved into the Zurvanist tradition which Byron came across at San Lazaro and alludes to in *Cain*. The parallels between Milton’s description and that from the Zoroastrian Scriptures is yet another example of the curious similarities between these two faiths.

Christianised Dualists, particularly the Bogomils and Cathars, perceived Satan as ‘the Prince of this world’.⁹⁸ Satan as the evil tyrant of a degenerate world of wickedness is an extremely important aspect of Calvinist theology. After all, it is he who incites Despair in the reprobate and lures them into their predestined damnation. He also tempts men into venal sins, seducing them with material pleasures, like Marvell’s Madam-esque ‘Created Pleasure’. Although the Christian Satan did not actually make these pleasures, unlike the Dualist Creator-Satan, nevertheless Calvinists perceive him as using them in a similar fashion to pollute the soul. Henry’s commentary on Genesis 3.1-5 accuses Satan of creating ‘many a dangerous temptation’ and disguising it underneath ‘gay fine colours that are but skin deep’. Interestingly, he also notes that these bright trappings ‘seem to come from above’. This concept of Satan pretending to be Divine is reminiscent of the Dualist doctrines of cyclical dominion, discussed in the previous Chapter, whereby the Evil Principle pretends to be the Good. Many Calvinists feared that Satan assumed the guise of God, as Gil-Martin does in Hogg’s *Confessions*, flattering to deceive. Certainly a number of Despairing thought they heard God’s voice castigating them, subsequently realising it was Satan.⁹⁹

This Calvinist conviction that ‘the whole world [...] lies in the power of the evil one’ who was potentially masquerading as God had an interesting side effect

⁹⁶ Cited in Nuttal, *Alternative Trinity*, p.129.

⁹⁷ Yasna 30.3, *Zend Avesta*.

⁹⁸ *Vision of Isaiah*, Wakefield and Evans, p.455.

⁹⁹ Both Bunyan and Cowper exhibit examples of this mental paranoia, and Stachniewski lists a number of other examples throughout *Persecutory Imagination*.



Figure 98: *Saint Peter and Simon Magus*, Benozzo Gozzoli.

when combined with the Calvinist Reformation's position as an almost heretical newcomer, challenging the existing Church.¹⁰⁰ Dualists and Calvinists alike believed that as the world was under the dominion of the Evil Principle/Satan-figure therefore the existing Church was false. Dualists argued that the OT Deity was a false god and so he had false prophets. In particular Simon Magus claimed that he alone represented 'the great power of God' and all other prophets were false, 'inspired by the angels that made the world' and 'ruled the world evilly'.¹⁰¹ Incidentally Byron was probably aware of Simon Magus' beliefs from an extensive discussion in Bayle's *Dictionary*, and the biblical mentions.¹⁰² The medieval Cathars challenged 'the Church of Rome' because it adheres to 'an imitation' of the Word of God, created by Satan.¹⁰³ Calvinists perceived the Roman Catholic Church in a similar light.¹⁰⁴ John Knox attacks the 'horrible and universal defection from the Truth which has come by means of the Roman Antichrist' and Milton vehemently denounces the 'dark overcasting of superstitious' traditions in Catholicism.¹⁰⁵ In both cases, these false prophets are another tool in the diabolic arsenal designed to delude humanity and lead them further into iniquity.¹⁰⁶ Interestingly, the passage on determining evil based on actions in Matthew opens with a warning to 'beware false prophets' who will be known 'by their fruits'.¹⁰⁷ Cain's perception of the 'bitter' fruits of his existence leads him to conclude that Jehovah is a false God, and therefore his followers are akin to Matthew's 'false prophets'.

This conviction that the world is either a delusion created by Evil, or suffering under a diabolic reign supported by a deceived and deceitful Church, caused Calvinists and Dualists alike to doubt and challenge the civil and religious institutions of their times.¹⁰⁸ Finkelstein's work on Pericles and the Pauline Epistles describes

¹⁰⁰ John 5.19.

¹⁰¹ Holroyd, *Gnosticism*, pp.13-14.

¹⁰² *GHCD*, VI, 'Peter King', Note B; also Acts 8.

¹⁰³ Holroyd, *Gnosticism*, p.90; Weiss, *Yellow Cross*, p.xxviii.

¹⁰⁴ Calvin wrote an extensive exegesis on the story of King Ahab and the false prophets at his court, subsequently used in Melville's *Moby Dick*.

¹⁰⁵ J. Knox, *The History of the Reformation of Religion within the Realm of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth Trust, 1994), p.1; Glover, *Poets and Puritans*, p.40; Vasilev, *Heresy and Reformation* (London: Macfarland & Co, 2008), pp.124-130.

¹⁰⁶ *Adv. Haer.* 1.22.1, 4.34.1.

¹⁰⁷ Matt 7.15-16.

¹⁰⁸ Byron provides an interesting example of this in *CHP* which warns against 'an omnipotence' who 'mantles the earth with darkness' and oppresses men to prevent the development of 'their free thought' which will bring 'too much light' to the earth. IV.93.

how Catholic 'traditions that see the crucifix as the central Christian truth become the Reformation focus on direct communication with the Word' of God.¹⁰⁹ This direct communication resulted in Calvinist Antinomianism, briefly discussed above, which actually ignored the Scriptural Word of God in favour of a truly 'direct' and internal relationship with God. The disregard for secular laws exhibited by literary characters such as Hogg's Robert Wringham and Burns' Holy Willie exemplify the Antinomian conviction that an inner guiding light trumped the Law, both civil and biblical. Moore discusses this aspect of Calvinism in relation to the Quaker book-burnings of the 1670s. He argues that:

To burn the scriptures was to proclaim that the spirit had completely superseded the letter, that interior spiritual confidence had supplanted the endless regulations and laws codified in the Bible.¹¹⁰

Many Antinomians did not limit themselves to defying Biblical laws, but also challenged civil laws. Hogg's *Confessions* shows Wringham committing all manner of sins, including murder and rape, convinced of his own inner virtue and election. However, interestingly in the context of false prophets and diabolic seduction, Wringham was lured into this state of mind by Gil Martin, the Satan-Mephistopheles figure in the book.

Moore's discussion of the Quaker Antinomianism is linked with *Tamburlaine*. He argues that the eponymous anti-hero's burning of 'heaps of superstitious books' shows his disregard for the 'foolish lawes' of religion in a similar manner to that of the Quakers.¹¹¹ Although Moore does not extend his discussion to include Calvinist Antinomianism, he does briefly imply that Tamburlaine's Antinomian tendencies reflect an almost Gnostic emphasis on the spirit over the letter and the material world. The Scripture inhabits a position of sole Authority in the Reformed faith; a stance necessitated by the need to undermine the Catholic emphasis on Tradition as a secondary source of Authority, supplementing that derived from the Bible. Calvinists believed so strongly in the fallibility and corruption of mankind that they could not accept man-made traditions as valid, even if semi-derived from Scripture. This reliance on the Bible as the sole source of religious Authority meant that Calvinism,

¹⁰⁹ R. Finkelstein, 'Pericles, Paul, and Protestantism', *Comparative Drama*, 44, (2010), p.104.

¹¹⁰ R.E. Moore, 'The Spirit and the Letter: Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* and Elizabethan Religious Radicalism', *Studies in Philology*, 99, (2002), p.123.

¹¹¹ *Tamburlaine Part Two*, V.i.172-4.

and the other Protestant faiths, were undermined to a far greater extent than Catholicism when the historical veracity of the Bible began to be challenged in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It is possible that this reliance on the Bible as the sole Authority is one of the reasons why Byron chose to centre his challenge against Calvinism within a Biblical context in the play *Cain*.¹¹² With this in mind, the Antinomian disregard for the Bible and emphasis on spirit over letter, as Moore puts it, is particularly detrimental to Calvinism, which has no other real source of Authority.

Arguably Dualists practised an exceptionally extreme form of Antinomianism owing to their repudiation of the entire world.¹¹³ Certainly the Dualist conviction of the material world as a delusive illusion designed to trap the unwary soul and blind it to its true origins does not lend itself to an adherence to the strictures of Institutional Authority. Unlike Calvinism with its Justification, Dualist Antinomianism arises more out of the belief in non-bodily resurrection – the worthless flesh is discarded and therefore its actions are irrelevant in the everlasting scheme of things. Bayle mentions Simon Magus' teachings on this issue, consisting of:

These two heresies: that man was fatally necessitated to all his actions, and that he should not be judged according to his works but according to his spiritual seed, election and the like, which tenets were attended by the most abominable consequences.¹¹⁴

Another text, attributed to Magus himself, teaches his followers that they 'might freely do what they liked. For only by his [Magus'] grace were men saved and not by righteous deeds'.¹¹⁵ It is difficult to differentiate between these passages and Calvinist texts on the same topic, examined in Chapter One. The notion that a man's sins are predestined, his actions and inner worth irrelevant in connection with a salvation predicated on arbitrary choice rather than 'righteous deeds', is extremely Calvinistic.

¹¹² Acosta's work on the reception of Genesis in the eighteenth century emphasises the complex roles still enacted via the Creation and Fall narratives, which had not been superseded and 'continued to influence and in fact to structure the paradigmatic projects of many writers', *Reading Genesis in the Long Eighteenth Century* (Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing, 2006), p 2.

¹¹³ In fact, 2Peter 2 and Jude 4-19 can be perceived as refutations of Gnostic antinomianism.

¹¹⁴ *GHCD*, VI, 'Peter King', Note B.

¹¹⁵ Holroyd, *Gnosticism*, pp.13-14.



Figure 99: Illustration for *Lara*, by Gericault after F. Villain.

In *Lara*, a poem somewhat sidelined in this study, Byron challenges the Antinomian anti-somatism, characteristic to both Calvinism and Dualism:

Loath himself to blame,
He called on Nature's self to share the shame,
And charged all faults upon the fleshly form
She gave to clog the soul, and feast the worm;
Till at last he confounded good and ill,
And half mistook for fate the acts of will.¹¹⁶

The first line places Lara in the wrong, presenting him as weak and spineless for refusing to accept responsibility for his actions, blaming others instead. He calls on Nature to 'share the shame' of his 'faults', blaming 'the fleshly form' she created. The alliteration focuses attention on these lines, insinuating a sort of stuttering desperation to shift the blame. The phrase 'clog the soul' is obviously extremely Dualistic as is the subsequent allusion to the mortal body's decomposition and implicit rebuttal of bodily resurrection. Yet blaming the body for one's own wickedness is also a Calvinist trait, mocked in the character of Holy Willie by Burns. Like Holy Willie, Lara's self-righteous refusal to accept blame results in his being unable to distinguish between good and evil because everything is predestined by another. It is striking how pronounced the similarities are between Dualist Antinomian views and Craig's description of the corresponding Calvinist mindset:

Ingrained Calvinism seems to have produced people who resigned their responsibility for an action, however monstrous it might normally seem, because they felt their deeds were controlled by powers of good and evil beyond them.¹¹⁷

Byron condemns this Antinomian attitude in both Calvinism and Dualism in *Lara* by implying that the whole concept merely arose from a cowardly refusal to shoulder the blame for one's own sins.

The reason why Calvinists and Dualists 'resigned their responsibility' for their actions was because of their belief in the elitist hierarchy of salvation based on special knowledge, granted to a minority. Calvinists use the term 'election' to represent understanding of the Word of God and salvation. Dualists also use the term 'election',

¹¹⁶ *Lara* I.331-336.

¹¹⁷ Craig, *Scottish Literature*, p.189.

as noted by Bayle in his discussion of the Manichean division into ‘two orders: that of the elect and that of their hearers’.¹¹⁸ The Gnostics are thought to have had three classifications, and differentiated between *Γνωσις* which was the knowledge of the initiate, and *Πιστις* which was the knowledge of a mere believer.¹¹⁹ Irenaeus remarked that the Gnostics also differentiated between those predestined to salvation and doomed to damnation.¹²⁰ Even Calvinists had levels within the elect. The famous Calvinist Synod of 1622 defined the elect as being made up of two categories, the actual elect, who were irrevocably saved by God, and the potential elect, or ‘observers’ who might be saved.¹²¹

Antinomians believed that ‘if you are led by the spirit you are not subject to the law’.¹²² But what was this spirit? For Calvinists, as mentioned, it was the assurance of election, the glorious conviction of God’s grace and abiding love filling you. Calvinism taught that only on election would the eyes of the soul be opened by the Holy Spirit and the message of the Gospels be received and understood. After all, as mentioned before, the elect believe because they are elect. Spenser wrote a beautiful description of the ‘glorious beames’ of election which ‘all fleshly sense doth daze’ while ‘lumining the spirit’:

Then shall thy ravisht soul inspired bee
With heavenly thoughts, farre above humane skil
And thy bright radiant eyes shall plainly see
Th’Idee of his pure glorie.¹²³

The overriding impression on reading these lines is how extremely Dualistic they are with the frequent light imagery linked with newly revealed sight that blinds the mortal body and enlightens the soul alone. Dualist texts often use light and dark imagery, focusing on the darkness of the illusory world, blinding the spirit to its divine origins until the reception of *gnosis* strips away the delusions and reveals the truth. Moreover Spenser’s emphasis on the light of election as actually damaging the physical body, ‘Blinding the eyes’, resembles the Dualist teachings on the mutual antagonism of

¹¹⁸ GHCD, VII, ‘Manichaeism’, Note F.

¹¹⁹ S. Runciman, *The Medieval Manichee, a Study of the Christian Dualist Heresy* (Cambridge: CUP, 1960), p.7.

¹²⁰ *Adv. Haer.* 1.6.1-2.

¹²¹ Manning, *Puritan Provincial Vision*, p.27.

¹²² Galatians 5.16-21, also 1 Timothy 5.6.

¹²³ E. Spenser, ‘Hymn on Heavenly Love’ St. 4.

body and soul. It is also reminiscent of Byron, Milton and Cowper's poetical descriptions of God's destructive light, examined in the previous Section. The contrast between the harsh 'blinding' of the body and the gentle connotations of God's grace 'lumining' the soul points to the Calvinist anti-somatism of this passage. Spenser's soul is 'inspired' with 'heavenly thoughts' infinitely beyond the capabilities of the paltry human mind, allowing the elect to rejoice in God's 'pure glorie'. The language of Calvinist election is extremely similar to that of Dualist *gnosis* discussed in Chapter Two. In both cases the revelatory knowledge provides the only path to salvation, as man is so utterly wicked he is incapable of doing any good without God's direct intervention.

The Gnostic Gospel of Thomas contains a passage that is nearly identical to the Calvinist discussions of this sense of inner assurance of election. It describes how 'when you come to know your selves, then you will be known and you will realise that it is you who are the sons of the living father'. The God-Christ figure explicitly states that 'it is to those worthy of my mysteries that I tell my mysteries'.¹²⁴ The Calvinist tones of this description of the search for assurance of salvation, and those who receive it, are reinforced by Mani's understanding of how this revelatory truth opens the eyes of the recipient, allowing them to comprehend 'the separation of light from darkness, of death from life, of living waters from turbid'.¹²⁵ Knox describes his own perception of the 'secrets unknown to the world' which were revealed to him by God as proof of his election.¹²⁶ Again the language is extremely similar to Mani's discussion of revelatory *gnosis* and that of the Gnostic Gospel of Thomas.¹²⁷ Finally, the *Zend Avesta* claims that only the worthy go to heaven, while those judged to be wicked are banished to a hell of fire and molten iron.¹²⁸ This could almost be enunciating a Calvinist perception of the differing fates of the elect and the reprobate.

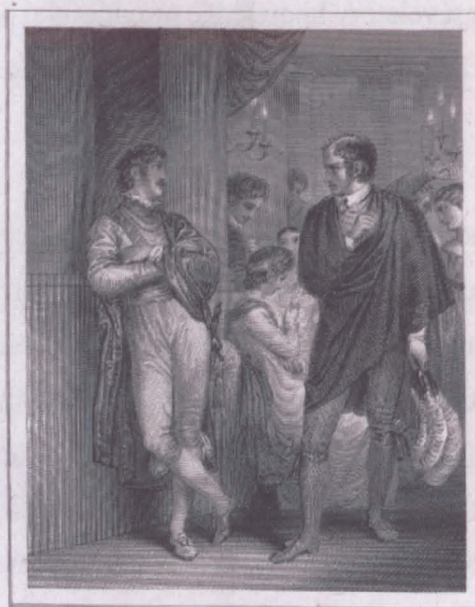
¹²⁴ Holroyd, *Gnosticism*, p.23.

¹²⁵ CMC, p.41.

¹²⁶ Cited in D. Atkinson, 'Dismantling the Straw Man: the Religious Personality of John Knox', in *Bright Lanterns: Essays on Medieval and Renaissance Scotland*, ed. J.D. McClure (Aberdeen: University Press, 1989), p.286.

¹²⁷ Vs. 20-28, F. Waldstein ed. *The Gospel of Thomas: Synopsis of Nag Hammadi Codices* (New York: Brill, 1995).

¹²⁸ Yasna 46.10, 49.10-11, 31.20-21, and 34.4-9 in M. Boyce, *Zoroastrians: a Shadowy but Powerful Presence in the Judeo-Christian World* (Inverness: Highlanders Printers, 1987), p.13.



Printed by Tho: Stothard & A.

Engraved by R. Rhodes.

LARA.

HE LEAN'D AGAINST THE LOFTY PILLAR NIGH;
WITH FOLDED ARMS AND LONG ATTENTIVE EYE,
NOR MARK'D A GLANCE SO STERNLY FIX'D ON HIM,

PUBLISHED BY JOHN MINTHURN, CORNER OF ST. MARTIN'S STREET, DEC. 1804.

Figure 100: Frontispiece from *Lara*.

Divine revelation bringing a special knowledge or keen sight is common to Calvinism and Dualism and resulted in yet another similarity: the idea of the Fortunate Fall. Dualists believed the serpent was a Gnostic Redeemer, bringing *gnosis* (the apple) to Adam and Eve, showing them the Truth of the world and opening their eyes to its evil so they might start to purify themselves. Calvinists teach that it is only by realising their ingrained wickedness (Bunyan's metaphor of looking in the mirror) that sinners can start travelling on the road to Salvation. The first step to election is sin-consciousness which fulfils a similar function to the *gnosis*-apple. In *Cain* when Eve moans that 'The fruit of our forbidden tree begins / To fall',¹²⁹ she is referring to Cain's growing doubts and muttered challenges to Jehovah. Instead of being a further punishment for her transgressions, this could be interpreted by a Dualist as showing the effects of *gnosis* which enables Cain to 'judge by the fruits' of his existence whether because Jehovah 'is all-powerful must all-good, too, follow'.¹³⁰ Conversely, Calvinists could perceive these lines as referring to Cain's discarding of Catholicism in preference to the true faith of the Reformation after Lucifer (in the role of the Holy Spirit) opens his eyes to these false prophets.

Incidentally, the Enlightenment emphasis on Reason as a revelatory light, sweeping away the dark clouds of superstition is also similar to Calvinist election and Dualist *gnosis*. The language and symbolism of Enlightenment rationalism is often perceived as evolving out of the Reformation, the unlooked-for brain-child of Calvinism's undermining of the status quo and received traditions of the Catholic Church. Sadly, there is not enough space to fully address the fascinating parallels between Enlightenment, Dualist and Calvinist attitudes to reason and revelation, and their expression in Romantic poetry. However Enlightenment rationalism as emanating from Calvinism provides an interesting piece of proof supporting the idea that Calvinists and Dualists have identical perceptions of revelatory knowledge as unmasking the satanic illusions which delude those who dwell in the material world.

Sleeping Heresies and Sacred Truths

This discussion of the similarities between Calvinism and Dualism is not purely based on tenuous claims founded on coincidental parallels and the inevitable

¹²⁹ *Cain* l.i.30-31.

¹³⁰ *Cain* l.i.77-78.

interrelationship of two sets of faith that have co-existed for two millenia. In fact there are a number of historical links between Dualism and the Reformation.

The earliest days of the Reformation were fraught with threats of persecution as the Catholic Church sought to check the rapid spread of the Protestant faith across Europe. One means used was accusations of heresy, specifically linking the Protestants with the worst of all heretical blasphemies, Manichaeism. Luther was accused of ‘reviving sleeping heresies’ and his opponents argued that his teachings were based on the Dualism of Gnostic-Manichaeism and Catharism.¹³¹ McCaffrey’s article contains a number of examples of this Catholic line of attack, in particular Noel Beda’s *Determination*, 1522, republished in 1728 in *Collectio judicorum de novis erroribus*, and Jean Gay’s 1561 *L’histoire des schismes et heresies des Albigeos*. More interestingly, she discusses the Protestant Synod at Montauban in 1595. Montauban is only a small distance from Albi itself, deep in the heart of the formerly Cathar Languedoc. The Synod formally affirmed the link between Catharism and Protestantism, arguing that descent from the Cathars gave them a legitimacy that predated that of the Catholic Church because the Cathar ‘religion is ancient and the religion of papism is new and distinct’.¹³² Leff discusses this peculiar ‘convergence’ between the two faiths and the ambiguous definitions of heresy and orthodoxy that this gave rise to in this period.¹³³

The devout Protestant Peter Allix’s popular work on the history and doctrines of the medieval Cathars and Albigensians claims that the Reformation ‘consists only in the rejecting of what for many years has been superadded to the Christian religion’. He labels the Albigensians ‘the true authors of the Reformation’ on the grounds that:

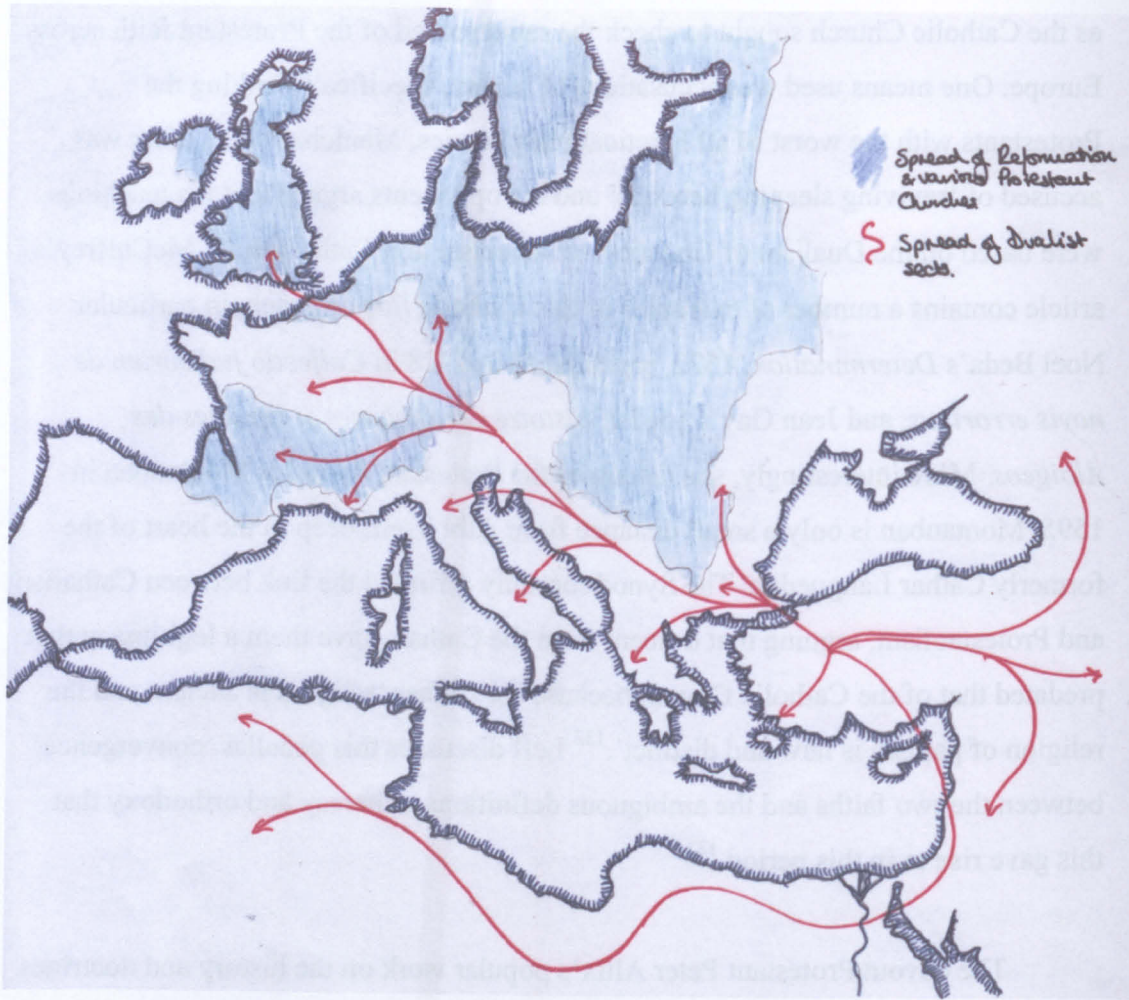
The conduct of the ancient churches of the valleys of Piedmont has served for a model to our Reformers and has justified them in their undertaking, seeing as they have always preserved amongst them the sacred truths of the Christian religion committed to them, as they had received them from the disciples of the Apostles, and rejected the corruptions thereof.¹³⁴

¹³¹ Barber, *Cathars*, p.213.

¹³² E. McCaffrey, ‘Memory and Collective Identity in Occitanie: The Cathars in History and Popular Culture’, *History and Memory*, 13, (2001), pp.114-138.

¹³³ Leff, *Heresies*, p.411.

¹³⁴ Allix, *Ancient Churches of Piedmont*, pp.iii-iv.



Map 13: The Reformation and the Spread of Dualism.

It is likely that Byron was himself aware of Allix and his views, as proven earlier. Allix seems to perceive the asceticism of the Cathars as being proof that 'they alone follow the steps of Christ and continue in the imitation of the true apostolic life'. He praises their self-abnegation and links it with his own Calvinist beliefs. He also favourably comments on their belief in two principles as resulting in two natures, and the further conflict of 'flesh and spirit, whereof St Paul speaks', concluding that 'their faith was in most things the same with that our Reformers taught'.¹³⁵

By the eighteenth century the concept of Calvinism linked with, if not indebted to, Catharism was firmly fixed in the public consciousness. Even Voltaire frequently associated Protestantism with Catharism,¹³⁶ as did a number of scholarly works.¹³⁷ Another source for Byron's own knowledge is the 1793 work by Thomas Taylor, *History of the Waldenses and Albigenses*.¹³⁸ Given Byron's interest in Dualism, Shelley's friendship with Taylor and possession of a number of his other works, it is highly likely that Byron would have come across this text. As with Allix, Taylor assumes a reverential attitude towards the Albigensian Dualists, perceiving them as 'the Protestants' of their age, the 'real followers of Christ', and the 'true witnesses' to his Word, preserving it 'in the midst of the darkness and errors which have been hatched by Satan in these latter times'.¹³⁹

This raises a point which, sadly, can only be briefly addressed here. Throughout history, one finds Dualism and Christianity in the same places, living almost one on top of the other in a series of chronological overlaps. Where one is, the other is much more likely to make converts, the one paving the way for the other.¹⁴⁰ One only has to look at maps of Paul's travels, the spread of Christianity in various eras and the corresponding spread of Dualist sects to see this. In Egypt, the asceticism

¹³⁵ Allix, pp. iii, 143, 154, 171.

¹³⁶ He frequently links the Cathars, Hussites and Protestants in his works, in particular: *Essai sur les Moeurs, Histoire du parlement and Siecle de Louis XIV*; G. Gargett, 'Voltaire and Protestantism', *SVEC*, 188, (1980), pp. 13-43.

¹³⁷ S.R. Maitland, *Fact and Documents Illustrative of the History, Doctrine and Rites of the Ancient Albigenses and Waldesians* (London: CJC & F Rivington, 1832); G.S. Faber, *An Enquiry into the History and Theology of the Ancient Vallenses and Albigenses* (London: Sedey, 1838).

¹³⁸ T. Taylor, *The History of the Waldenses and Albigenses, who Begun the Reformation in the Vallies of Piedmont and Various other Places, Several Hundred Years Before Luther* (Bolton: J. Higham, 1793).

¹³⁹ *Ibid.* pp.iii, iv-viii, 25-27, 33.

¹⁴⁰ Obolensky, *Bogomils*, pp.21-24.

of the early Gnostics blended into the hermitic lifestyles of the Coptic monks. In Bulgaria, Christianity was supplanted by Bogomil and his adherents, who seem to have colonised Christian Byzantium with surprising rapidity. This overlapping is particularly interesting in the context of the Cathar-Calvinist interrelationship, where the Languedoc and Southern France had become one of the strongest Protestant areas by the eighteenth century. Owing to the strong Catholic persecution which they suffered the Protestant Churches, like their Cathar predecessors, were often forced underground and into hiding, referring to themselves as the Churches of the Desert.¹⁴¹ Arguably the residual Dualism of the area would have encouraged the more ascetic austerity of Calvinism. In fact many people of Huguenot descent actually trace their lineage back to noted Cathar families and it seems like many residual Cathars left behind after the Inquisition gravitated towards Protestant beliefs. In particular a number of Protestant South Africans of Dutch and Germanic descent believe they are related to the Languedoc Cathars who fled Fournier's persecutions.¹⁴² This provides a direct correlation between Catharist Dualism and contemporary Protestants.

As Map 13 shows, those areas of Europe which welcomed the Reformation were often those which had hosted Dualist sects in earlier centuries. Bayle actually goes so far as to argue that the Paulician movement would have experienced an exponential increase in its adherents had it been introduced into a Calvinist milieu where the numerous 'controversies' about predestination and the creator of evil, would have made the Paulician Dualism exceptionally appealing.¹⁴³ Byron's own interest in Dualism is therefore potentially a reflection of a wider occurrence in Europe.

'Les dualistes Anglais': Dualist influence on Calvinist Literature¹⁴⁴

One of the most important lines of influence open to heresy, as well as the perfect medium for its transmission and preservation, is literature. Cunningham argues that the central role of heresy in the development of Orthodox doctrine pales in

¹⁴¹ N. Aston, *Religion and Revolution in France 1780-1804* (London: Macmillan Press, 2000), pp.62-64.

¹⁴² See all the entries in the 'archiver.rootsweb.ancestry.com' site, specifically set up to help Huguenot families trace Cathar ancestry, for example: 'Historical Perspective of Huguenots, Cathars and Waldensians' by H. Labuschagne, found on the same site.

¹⁴³ *GHCD*, VIII, 'Paulicians'.

¹⁴⁴ G. Vasilev, 'Philosophie et figures dualistes dans les pamphlets de John Milton', in *Milton in France*, ed. C. Tournu (London: Peter Laing, 2008), p.146.

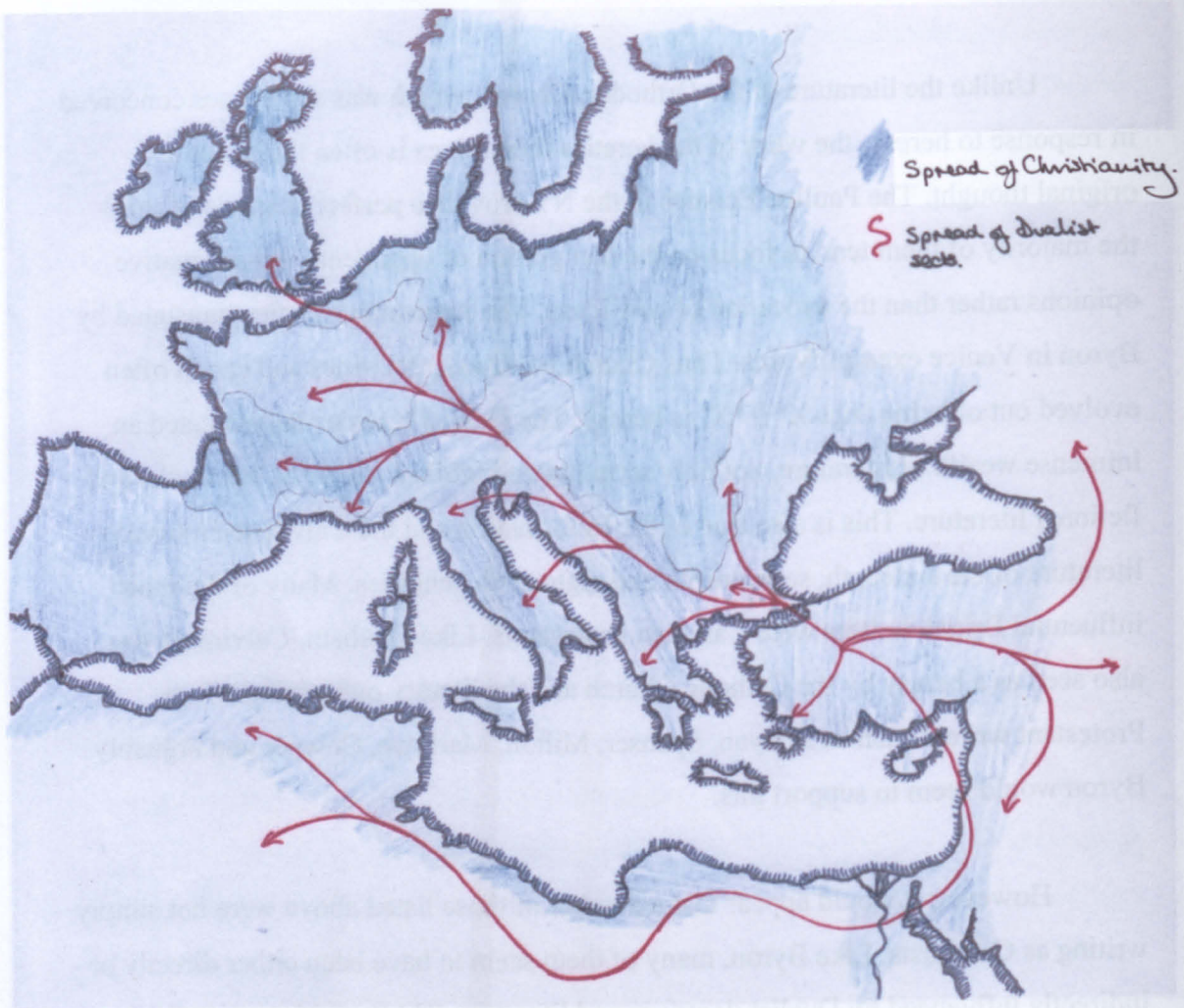
comparison to its impact on the canon of English literature. The English canon therefore arguably supplies a secular analogue of the contemporary conflicts within Christianity at any given time.¹⁴⁵

Unlike the literature of the Orthodox Church, which was sometimes conceived in response to heresy, the work of the heretics themselves is often the result of original thought. The Pauline Epistles in the NT provide a perfect example of this - the majority of them tend to focus on the denigration of opponents and alternative opinions rather than the avocation of new ideas. The Armenian Epistles translated by Byron in Venice exemplify this. Thus Church traditions, doctrines and canon often evolved out of being 'not-X' if 'X' is heresy. The Dualist heresies have created an immense wealth of literature, not only scripture and biblical exegesis, but myths and fictional literature. This is also true of the Reformation and the Calvinist-Protestant literature of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Many of the most influential British writers were Calvinist Protestants. Like Dualism, Calvinism was also seen as a heresy by the Catholic Church and the literary outpourings from Protestant writers such as Bunyan, Spenser, Milton, Marlowe, Cowper and arguably Byron would seem to support this.

However, it would appear that a number of those listed above were not simply writing as Calvinists. Like Byron, many of them seem to have been either directly or indirectly influenced by Dualist doctrines and literature. This provides a two-fold interest. On the one hand, there is a context for Byron's own use of Dualism in his poetry and arguably another source of information for him. On the other hand, the presence of Dualist teachings in the works of such famous Protestant writers as Tyndale and Milton demonstrates the fact that there are a great many similarities between the two faiths which can cause a Calvinist to be attracted to Dualism.

The forthcoming discussion concerning the widespread and frequently underrated impact of Dualism on English literature owes a great deal to the recently translated work of Gregory Vasilev, *Heresy and the English Reformation: Bogomil-*

¹⁴⁵ V. Cunningham, 'Introduction: The Necessity of Heresy', in *Figures of Heresy: Radical Theology in English and American Writing, 1800-2000*, eds. A. Dux and J. Taylor (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2006), p.1-18.



Map 14: The Spread of Christianity and the Spread of Dualism.

Cathar Influence on Wycliffe, Langland, Tyndale and Milton. He describes the Bogomil-Cathars as the early Protestants of the East, whose:

Imagery and philosophy should be viewed as a driving force of the pan-European pre-Renaissance as well as the principle ingredient of the English Reformation.¹⁴⁶

His work supports the argument concerning the impact of Catharism on the nascent Reformation, arguing that the Dualist traditions of Catharism ‘undoubtedly produced the first penetrating reformist trend in Western Europe’.¹⁴⁷ In an earlier essay Vasilev argues that the Cathar influence on the Reformation is ‘visible dans la vie et l’activité de Wycliffe (et des Lollards), Tyndale et Milton’, describing them as ‘les dualists anglais’.¹⁴⁸ Not only Wycliffe, but Tyndale is shown to have been influenced by Catharism.¹⁴⁹ This means that both of the earliest vernacular translations of the Bible, the centre of the Protestant faith in Britain, are in fact shaped by Dualist teachings. Vasilev argues that Milton actually had direct access to a Dualist manuscript. In *Eikonoklastes* Milton discusses his reading of ‘a Book Written almost four hundred Years since, and set forth in the Bohemian History’ which details the beliefs of various churches in ‘France, Piemont and Bohemia’.¹⁵⁰ As noted earlier, Piedmont is in the Languedoc and was a Cathar stronghold, while the Bogomils seem to have travelled through Thrace and Bohemia to reach Northern Italy and France. *Paradise Lost* also contains allusions to various Dualist texts including the ‘Secret Book of John’ (also called the Secret Supper or the *Interregatio Johannis*), the ‘Tiberiad Sea’, the ‘Nicodemus Gospel’ and others.¹⁵¹ Vasilev describes the renowned writer as ‘célèbre, à sa manière, le principe fondamental du dualisme, quand il parle de la connaissance du bien et du mal’ in connection with Milton’s mention of twin principles.¹⁵² This concept is, after all, the prime tenet of Dualism. Milton not only read Cathar works and utilised their imagery, he also wrote about them. His sonnet ‘Massacre at Piedemont’ condemns the persecution of the Albigensians by the

¹⁴⁶ *Heresy and the English Reformation: Bogomil-Cathar Influence on Wycliffe, Langland, Tyndale and Milton* (London: Macfarland & Co, 2008), p.11. Look at pp.11-13 for list of other scholars examining Bogomil-Cathar influence in fourteenth-century England.

¹⁴⁷ Vasilev, *Heresy*, p.1

¹⁴⁸ Vasilev, ‘Philosophie et figures dualistes’, p.146

¹⁴⁹ For more details, see Vasilev, *Heresy*, pp.85-93.

¹⁵⁰ *Eikonoklastos*, cited in Vasilev, *Heresy*, p.155.

¹⁵¹ To see more details of specific Dualist terminology in *Paradise Lost*, and their sources, see Vasilev, *Heresy*, pp. 119-150.

¹⁵² Vasilev, ‘Philosophie et figures dualistes’, p. 146.

Catholic Church, imploring God to 'Avenge' his 'slaughtered saints' who preserved the 'truth so pure of old' in Italy and France.¹⁵³ The poem displays a similar view of the Cathar relationship with Calvinism to that of Allix and Taylor.

Vasilev concludes that from the twelfth century to the seventeenth century 'there was an infusion of potent cultural and philosophical trends in English culture, trends which were founded on the dualist Bogomil-Cathar heresy'.¹⁵⁴ However, why stop at the seventeenth century? The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were equally saturated with Dualism, indeed arguably more so due to the growing knowledge of primary sources, not only from Bogomilism and Catharism but also from earlier Manichean, Paulician, Gnostic and Zoroastrian texts. Byron's poetry provides a perfect example of this, combining Calvinist indoctrination with Dualist imagery drawn from a variety of sources.

The aforementioned eighteenth-century Paulician liturgy, *The Key of Truth*, provides a final insight and proof of the multiplicity of parallels between Calvinism and Dualism. An Armenian text by Armenian Dualists, it is noteworthy that the overriding impression it gave the renowned Armenian scholar, Vrej Nersessian, was of a Calvinist work rather than a Dualist one. He was struck by 'the tone of the Kirk' – intimating that it was not simply Calvinism, but Scottish Calvinism that this Paulician-Dualist text reminded him of.¹⁵⁵

Conclusion: Calvinism, Dualism or Platonism?

A question now obviously springs to mind – if there are such strong similarities between Calvinism and Dualism, not only in theological doctrine but also the imagery and language used by the poets and authors from both faiths, how can one determine whether Byron is in fact utilising Dualist theology in his poetry? One answer to this can be found in the extensive interaction Byron had with Dualism and his evident fascination with and appreciation of Dualist theology. A second answer lies in the multiple accusations of heresy and blasphemy, particularly Manichaeism, which are unlikely to have been directed at a poet who was simply adapting mainstream

¹⁵³ Milton, 'Massacre at Piedemont', *The Poetical Works of John Milton*, ed. E. Brydges (London: William Tegg, 1853), p.657.

¹⁵⁴ Vasilev, 'Philosophie et figures dualistes', p.157.

¹⁵⁵ Conybeare, *Armenian Church*, p.484.

Orthodox traditions. Moreover, there are a number of doctrines within the Dualist faiths which are entirely at odds with Calvinism and indeed Christianity as a whole, which appear in Byron's work. The preceding section has simply served to make the point that Dualism did not contravene the Calvinist education which Byron had received in Aberdeen as a child. Rather it would have built upon the precepts derived from that early indoctrination and provided answers to the various doubts that Byron had concerning the true nature of the Calvinist God.

However, there is one other possibility which should be considered and that is the argument for Byron as a Platonist, rather than a Calvinist or a Dualist. Now, as has been shown, there is more than enough evidence and source material to prove conclusively that Byron's veneration of the soul and denigration of the body, his periodic bouts of extreme asceticism, and understanding of matter/spirit dualism were derived from his Calvinist upbringing and extensive reading of Dualist doctrines and history. However, some critics persist in attributing Byron's understanding of body/soul and matter/spirit dualism to Plato and Neo-Platonism despite the fact that there are a number of aspects of the Platonist philosophy which Byron not only does not adhere to, but actively denounces. In particular, Twitchell's article on Byron's use of Thomas Taylor's translation of Iamblichus' works in *Manfred*,¹⁵⁶ and Atkins' study of the image of the soul trapped in a shellfish in *Don Juan* as taken from Plato's *Phaedrus*,¹⁵⁷ show the paucity of conclusive proof concerning Byron's possible Platonism, as there is a lack of substance in their arguments and little proof aside from that just mentioned.

Byron undeniably read a number of works by and on Plato and Neo-Platonists, and appropriated various images which seem to have caught his fancy. However, despite his knowledge of Plato from his own reading and his association with the undeniably Platonist Shelley, there is actually very little mention of Plato in Byron's works and few examples of influence.¹⁵⁸ Moreover, given his fixed fascination with

¹⁵⁶ J. Twitchell, 'The Supernatural Structure of Byron's *Manfred*', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 15, (1975), pp. 601-614.

¹⁵⁷ E. Atkins, 'Points of Contact Between Byron and Socrates', *PMLA*, 41, (1926), pp.402-423. See also P. Cochran, '*Manfred* and Thomas Taylor', *BJ*, 29, (2001), p.66.

¹⁵⁸ *GHCD*, V, 'Epicurus'; VII 'Plato'; T. Taylor trans. *Phaedrus* (1792), *Timaeus* (1793) - a friend of Shelley and Peacock, it is likely that Shelley encouraged Byron to read these versions amongst others. Notopolous, 'Shelley and Thomas Taylor', *PMLA*, 51, (1936), pp. 502-517; Notopolous, *The Platonism*



Figure 101: A collection of Byron's letters to Francis Hodgson, recently sold by Sothebys.

the problem of evil, God's moral nature and the existence and purpose of humanity, Platonism would have answered very few of Byron's questions and would not have satisfied his burning need for explanations. A more esoteric, abstract philosophy, Plato's teachings and the adaptations propounded by his Neo-Platonist successors inevitably held more attraction for those with a naturalistic philosophical bent such as Shelley, rather than Byron who seems to have sought for explicit answers to the problems which perplexed him and tainted his life. Even in the works which Byron is known to have read, such as *Phaedrus*, *Timaeus* and the *Republic* (all lent to him by Shelley)¹⁵⁹ there are a number of points which are wholly at odds with the Dualism found in Byron's poetry.¹⁶⁰ After all, as he famously wrote in a letter to Hodgson recently sold at Sotheby's, 'I am no Platonist', going on to state 'I would rather be a Paulician, Manichean, Spinozist, Gentile, Pythagorean, Zoroastrian'.¹⁶¹ This quotation indicates Byron's dislike of Platonism, which can also be seen in *Don Juan*.¹⁶² It also reveals that he was aware of Platonism as a separate philosophy, distinct from Dualist teachings which he claims to favour over those of Plato.

Calvinism and Dualism provide a far more coherent explanation for Byron's world view, his hatred of the Creator God, his asceticism, denigration of the physical world and his own body, and his understanding of the perpetual conflict between flesh and spirit, good and evil, even within himself. Dualism would have offered him a solution: yes the Creator-God was undeniably malevolent, vindictive and possibly evil, and yes predestined reprobation was the height of injustice and thus provided proof of the Creator's evil. However, the ineluctability of mortal sin due to the corruption of the flesh was countered by the understanding that there was another God who had created the soul and was the epitome of righteousness and justice. Byron after all did apparently want to believe in a good God – he frequently attested to this. The various attacks and denunciations of the cruelty of the Lord are specifically

of Shelley; *A Study of Platonism and the Poetic Mind* (Durham N. Carolina: Duke University Press, 1949).

¹⁵⁹ Notopolous, *Platonism*, pp.32-35, 53, 60, 386.

¹⁶⁰ A brief summation of these points include the notion of a tri-partite soul, the frequent descriptions of the winged soul seeking truth by rising over the rim of heaven, many of which become damaged and fall to earth, there enduring perpetual cycles of reincarnation in animals, then men, then philosophers until they can finally re-attain their wings and ascend to heaven, different states of existence - 'being' and 'becoming', rationality versus sense perception, *Phaedrus* trans. R. Waterfield (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), *Timaeus and Critias* trans. D. Lee (London: Penguin Books, 1971).

¹⁶¹ BLJ II. 98.

¹⁶² In *DJ*, Byron actually condemns Plato's 'system', accusing it of fostering 'immoral conduct', I.106.

directed against the God of Calvinism, the God of the Kirks and the Presbyteries and of small-minded, malicious people, caricatured in Burns' Holy Willie and Hogg's Robert Wringham, in whom Christian charity seems wholly absent. Byron and many of his peers believed that the clergy had mutilated the true faith and bent it to serve their own impious purposes. Dualism offered Byron a way to resolve his doubts and attack the Calvinist Deity without actually denying the existence of the good God in whom he desperately wanted to believe.

CONCLUSION: 'Eat, drink, and love; the rest's not worth a fillip'¹

In what is arguably the most honest of Byron's statements on religion and his own beliefs, he writes that:

I do not know what to believe – which is the devil – to have no religion at all – all sense and senses are against it – but all belief & much evidence is for it – it is walking in the dark over a rabbit warren – or a garden with steep traps and spring guns.²

Despite wanting to believe and wanting something to believe in, he found himself lost, a rudderless ship swinging this way and that as doubt and reason revealed flaws in every faith he considered. Byron wrote that he was doomed to 'doubt everything', forced to question and challenge superstition and hypocritical cant wherever he saw it.³ It is a peculiar fact that despite the heresy running rife throughout his poetry, along with the blasphemous condemnation of God and vilification of His worshippers, Byron still vehemently protested his Christianity. He constantly denied that he has any Dualist leanings, claiming to be bewildered by the way critics and public 'perverted' his 'views on religion'.⁴ In his conversations with Medwin, Byron reiterates his confusion at being 'considered an enemy to religion, and an unbeliever'.⁵ These protestations of innocence can seem bizarre in light of the subject matter of this thesis, which hinges on Byron's use of heretical doctrines to attack Calvinism and its callous deity. The salient point is that it was not the 'real' God whom Byron attacked but the 'dusk and awful figure' of the 'infernal god' engendered by the complexities of Calvinist doctrine. In his own mind, Byron remained a devout Christian who truly revered and loved his God, free from the rules and superstitions of religion. As Teresa concluded, Byron 'believes in God' yet his 'notion of God is not that which is taught by Christian doctrine'.⁶ As he once remarked, 'the moral of Christianity is perfectly beautiful - & the very sublime of Virtue', yet its actual practise by flawed individuals left a lot to be desired.⁷

¹ *Sardanapalus* I.ii.52.

² BLJ V.216.

³ BLJ II.136.

⁴ BLJ IV. 177; Byron 'never could understand what they meant by accusing [him] of irreligion', BLJ VII.49.

⁵ Medwin, p.65.

⁶ Guiccioli, I, p.137.

⁷ BLJ III.119.



Figure 102: Portrait of Lord Byron in Albanian dress, by Thomas Phillips, 1813.

This thesis not only looks at the impact of Calvinism on Byron but also examines effect that Dualism had on his poetry, as well as the similarities between the two faiths. Byron's overall perceptions of religion in general are also considered. Arguably the most important focus of this work is the nature of Byron's perception of Dualism, in and of itself, aside from being a useful tool to challenge Calvinist depictions of God. Byron utilised Dualism to strip away the delusive trappings of Calvinism, revealing the errors and inconsistencies in Calvinist depictions of God in his poetry. He was not himself a Dualist, though the fact that it was his heretical weapon of choice shows his attraction to it. Creations such as Cain and Lucifer were merely speaking in character, challenging God and his adherents. As Byron wrote, '[i]f I am to write a drama, I must have my characters speak as I conceive them likely to argue',⁸ subsequently claiming they merely 'talk consistently' as first murderer and first rebel.⁹

Unfortunately for Byron, many people conflated poet and poetry. William Hazlitt, for example, argued that the topic of Byron's poetry was always the poet himself – reflecting the insistence of readers to see Byron's poetry as illuminating his private life and vice versa.¹⁰ Although he claimed not to understand why people mixed up his 'own character and opinions with those of the imaginary beings', some blame must be placed with Byron.¹¹ Despite his oft professed dislike of cant and hypocrisy, epitomised by *Don Juan*, he deliberately created his public persona, consciously fostering parallels between his creations and himself. His posturing blurred the line between ideal and reality, encouraging others to do the same, as can be seen in Byron's plaintive requests not to see 'a few passages in works of fiction' as reflecting his own 'creed' and 'personal hypothesis'.¹²

⁸ BLJ V.470.

⁹ BLJ IX.53.

¹⁰ W. Hazlitt, 'Lord Byron', in *Spirit of the Age* (London: Henry Colburn, 1825), pp.149-168. See also J.A. Houck, 'Byron and Hazlitt', in *Lord Byron and his Contemporaries*, pp.66-84.

¹¹ Kennedy, p.118; see also pp.159-160.

¹² BLJ IV.177; IX.188.

The heretical opinions expressed in his poetry led many to assume Byron actually adhered to these views,¹³ forcing him in turn to assert and reassert his faith. In one letter Byron explicitly states 'I am not a Manichean – nor an *Any*-chean'.¹⁴ One of the most interesting supporting arguments for the theory that Byron simply used Dualism to attack Calvinism without directly believing in its doctrines can be found in Walter Scott's acceptance of the dedication of *Cain*. He writes that he cannot 'see how anyone can accuse the author himself of Manichaeism'. Although 'the devil takes the language of that sect', it is merely an attempt to 'exalt himself' to 'equality' with the Good Principle, and should not be taken as an expression of Byron's own religious views.¹⁵ Certainly Byron's numerous claims to love God and hate religion would seem to support this.¹⁶

Although Dualist teachings build on the foundations of Byron's childhood Calvinism, the large number of parallels meant that many of Byron's attacks against Calvinism could be redirected against Dualism, as shown in Byron's attack on Antinomianism in *Lara*, examined in the previous Chapter. These similarities were not discussed in the preceding Chapter, yet result in Byron being equally disparaging of the 'devilish doctrine [...] Of the two principles' which 'leaves behind / As many doubts as any other doctrine'.¹⁷

Both the Calvinist God and the Dualist Demiurge/Satan-Figure exhibit little regard for human life. Byron's condemnation of this can be seen in *Cain*. The Calvinist God, Jehovah, is blood thirsty and vengeful, demanding sacrifices and dooming the entirety of humanity to death and eternal damnation because someone ate a piece of fruit. Lucifer, often perceived as a Gnostic Redeemer, is equally indifferent to humanity, scornfully dismissing them as 'reptiles engendered out of the subsiding / Slime'.¹⁸ Jehovah and Lucifer, representing Calvinism and Dualism, corrupt their respective followers, Abel and Cain, with their own lack of regard for

¹³ Byron demands 'to know why [the] Quartering Reviewers [...] accuse me of Manichaeism', BLJ VII.132.

¹⁴ BLJ VII.132.

¹⁵ Cited in Rutherford, *Heritage*, p.215.

¹⁶ One of the most interesting proofs of Byron's love of God can be found in his frequent condemnation of Shelley's 'out-of-the-way notions about religion' and his atheism, BLJ VIII.132; also BLJ VI.174.

¹⁷ *DJ* XIII.41.537.

¹⁸ *Cain* II.ii.97-98.

life. This can be seen in Abel's sacrifice of the lamb, Cain's fratricide and his desire to end his son's life. Even Eve's vituperative repudiation of her son, urging nature itself to abandon him can be read as reflecting her (unwitting) allegiance to a god of death and destruction. Byron seems to have found this attitude equally repulsive in all four characters and condemns them for it in the drama, contrasting them with Adah who argues for the value of human life and has born a son, arguably the most tangible expression of life.

As Bayle notes, a retributive God is inevitable in Dualism owing to the continual struggle with the 'malignancy of the matter' forcing God 'always to have a thunderbolt in his hand'.¹⁹ Arguably this statement is equally applicable to Calvinism which also denigrates earthly pleasures and has a scourging God. One way which this divine chastisement is manifested in both cases is by the deliberate blinding of the soul so it can never attain salvation. Calvinists believe that God chooses not to send the Holy Spirit to the reprobate, who are forced to remain blind to the message of the Gospels. They also teach that God punishes the wicked by hardening their hearts so they cannot repent of their sins. Marlowe's Faustus bemoans the fact that his 'heart's so hardened [he] cannot repent',²⁰ and in *Paradise Lost*, 'The Incensed Deity' decrees that:

hard be hardened, blind be blinded more,
That they may stumble on and deeper fall.²¹

The Aberdeen Calvinist Bisset describes how God 'shuts their eyes, so that they shall not see [...] nor understand with their hearts, nor convert and be healed'.²² These examples are remarkably similar to those of the Dualists. The epigraph for Chapter Two shows the 'God of this Aeon' who has 'shut the heart of the unbelieving', blinding their minds with the 'the deceit of drunkenness' so that they 'blaspheme against the God of Truth' and cannot repent. Dualists believe that the material body blinds the soul to its true origins. The emphasis on sight is hardly surprising, nor is the allusion to drunkenness, given their belief that earthly delights are delusive illusions designed to corrupt the soul. There are literally countless examples of this, though

¹⁹ *GHCD*, V, 'Epicurus', Note S.

²⁰ *IL*.iii.18. See also *Institutes* 1.28.2, 3.23.2.

²¹ *PL* III II.187, 200-201.

²² Bisset, 'Sermon on Isaiah 6.9', p.6.



Engraved by J. Smith & Co. del.

Designed by R. Kneller

CHILDE HAROLD.

THE CHIEF DEPARTED FROM HIS FATHER'S WALL.

IT WAS A VAST AND VENERABLE FILE

CHILDE'S JOURNAL

PUBLISHED BY JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET, DEC. 1814.

Figure 103: Frontispiece from *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ From the British Museum.

there is little space to include them here.²³ Dualists also teach that only those who are lucky enough to receive *gnosis* are able to see the truth – the rest are abandoned to blindness and damnation.

Byron's knowledge of Calvinist doctrines would have ensured his understanding of this concept. In fact, this deliberate contrivance of reprobation was one of the things he seems to have disliked most in Calvinism. His extensive knowledge of Dualism meant that it is highly likely that he would have been aware of these parallels. Damnation for all but the elite minority was something Byron frequently railed against, as shown earlier. It is likely that he would have found it as repellent in Dualism as he does in Calvinism.

Another similarity which Byron condemned is the fact that the elect of both faiths blame their own sins on Nature and the evil of matter, rather than taking responsibility themselves.²⁴ Yet despite shifting the blame for their own faults, as shown in the passage on Antinomianism in *Lara* in the previous Section, both Calvinists and Dualists are vociferous in their condemnation of the sins of others and almost delight in their eventual damnation. Thus both faiths would perceive Childe Harold's depression and Religious Despair as fitting punishment for a 'shameless wight / Sore given to revel and ungodly glee', who 'through sin's long labyrinth had run'.²⁵ This condemnation seems doubly unfair given that the elect are chosen to have revelation and salvation just as the sinners are chosen to remain ignorant and unenlightened by the Gospels or *gnosis* and doomed to sin. After all, as Byron points out, one cannot get to heaven by 'virtuous and pious *Deeds* performed on Earth'.²⁶

Whereas Calvinists believe that 'the impurity of the parents is transmitted to their children, so that all, without exception, are originally depraved',²⁷ Dualism teaches that the body is irrevocably corrupted by the evil of its Creator. Yet the result

²³ In particular, the Gospel of Thomas contains various descriptions of the 'intoxicated' souls who 'are blind in their hearts' and cannot escape the traps of the Evil Principle, vs. 28.

²⁴ Calvin warns of the 'prison of the body' with its 'many vices and much weakness'; humanity must always 'daily struggle with the evil by which we are entangled', *Institutes* 1.5.20. The CMC contains a similar sentiment, discussing those who are 'led astray in this detestable flesh', 22.1.

²⁵ *CHP* 1.2.14-15 and 5.36.

²⁶ *BLJ* 1.115.

²⁷ *Institutes* 2.1.6.

is the same – a pronounced denigration of the corporeal body and rejection of material pleasures. Byron once famously said that:

The difference between a religious and irreligious man [...] is, that the one sacrifices the present to the future; and the other, the future to the present'.²⁸

It is this sentiment, I would argue, which is at the centre of Byron's dislike of Dualism and Calvinism, and his inability to be a true believer in either. Byron does not condemn those, like Cain, who genuinely hate their lives and 'living, see no thing / To make death hateful'.²⁹ Nor does he attack those who, like Dante's Sullen, are unable to rejoice in the glory of God's creation. Byron's ire is reserved for those who deliberately mortgage this life for the next, living a hermit-like existence similar to that of medieval flagellants who tortured their bodies in the hopes of purifying their souls. Instead of hair shirts and flagellation, Calvinists and Dualists alike practised extreme asceticism and Puritanism, 'through terror and self hope' rather than genuine love of God.³⁰ Byron attacks these ascetics who 'hope to merit Heaven by making earth a hell'.³¹

Wordsworth praises those believers in 'Providence' who were 'content to barter short-lived pangs / For a paradise of angels', implying there is a nobility to their self-sacrificing attitude.³² This can be sharply contrasted with Nietzsche's depiction:

There he lay now, sick, miserable, filled with ill-will towards himself; full of hatred for the impulses towards life, full of suspicion of all that was still strong and happy. In short, a 'Christian'.³³

Byron's views are more akin to those of Nietzsche than Wordsworth. He frequently attacks the pious conviction that this life must be one of suffering and 'miserable ruin' in order to see 'the infinite fullness of God'.³⁴ This mentality seems to have been an anathema to Byron, who 'will have nothing to do' with Hodgson's Anglican-Protestant 'immortality' on the grounds that 'we are miserable enough in this life' without 'speculating upon another'.³⁵ He could never understand how even the

²⁸ Blessington, p.149.

²⁹ *Cain* I.i.110-111.

³⁰ *Cain* I.i.390.

³¹ *CHP* I.20.260.

³² *Prelude* X.317, 320-321, from *Romantic Writings: an Anthology*, ed. W.R. Owens (Milton Keynes: Open University, 2003).

³³ F. Nietzsche, *The Twilight of the Idols/ The Antichrist* (London: Penguin Books, 1990), p. 67.

³⁴ *Institutes* 1.1.1-11.

³⁵ *BLJ* II.88-89.

‘stupidest, and dullest, and wickedest of human bipeds is still persuaded that he is immortal’ accordingly sacrificing the pleasures of this life for existence in the next.³⁶ It was not only Calvinists and Protestants who lived a life of self-abnegation in hopes of attaining heaven. Dualists practised a far more comprehensive asceticism, repudiating the entire world and life itself. Arguably this would have been even more repugnant to Byron than the Calvinist condemnation of drinking and dancing.

Manfred’s description of those who become ‘fools of time and terror’ and live ‘loathing’ life yet ‘dreading still to die’ gains further meanings when considered in this context. These people endure an existence characterised by suffering – their very breath is ‘accursed’ and life becomes a ‘vital weight upon the struggling heart’.³⁷ Earlier examined as an expression of the anguish of Religious Despair, these lines can also be read as reflecting the day-to-day misery of the pious, whose hopes of future glory force them to despise this life as a ‘detested yoke’ which keeps them from heavenly bliss. Byron’s repudiation of this mindset can be seen most clearly in *Childe Harold*, Cantos III and IV. One example is particularly striking:

There, in a moment, we may plunge our years
In fatal penitence, and in the blight
Of our own soul, turn all our blood to tears,
And colour things to come with hues of Night;
The race of life becomes a hopeless flight
To those that walk in darkness.³⁸

This passage reveals Byron’s disgust for puritanical piety and Dualistic asceticism. The concept of hurling one’s entire life into death and darkness is shocking. The word ‘plunge’ suggests foolish, unthinking enthusiasm which eventually transforms into a ‘hopeless flight’ from the misery in this life into the hypothetical pleasures of the next. This latter phrase is a sharp contrast to the ‘race of life’ which implies a natural, gleeful existence. The reference to ‘race’ reminds the reader that time is short. A life is over very quickly and should not be wasted in terror-struck flight. The misery of this existence is compellingly described as a life of ‘fatal penitence’ which causes ‘blight’ in the ‘soul’ and turns blood, the source of life itself, into tears. This last is an

³⁶ BLJ VIII.35.

³⁷ *Manfred* II.ii.164-170.

³⁸ *CHP* III.70.

emotive portrayal of the anguished misery that a life of denial and terror of God and death can bring. Instead of light and joy, there is only 'Night' and 'darkness' cloaking everything with despairing fear.

As Calvert notes in *Romantic Paradox*, Calvinism 'denies the full, healthy, rich life'.³⁹ This is equally applicable to Dualism and equally abhorrent to Byron as is clear from *Sardanapalus*, which provided a comprehensive overview of asceticism, and condemned much of it through the opposing characters of Salamanes and Sardanapalus. The abjuration to 'eat, drink, and love' is one which Byron heartily endorsed, despite his bouts of asceticism, and he seems to have dismissed consideration of the afterlife as 'not worth a filip'. Sardanapalus challenges the Calvinist and Dualist view that a life of suffering and denial is the only way to reach Heaven. He wants to make his 'subjects feel / The weight of human misery less, and glide / Ungroaning to the tomb'.⁴⁰ Yet this benevolent aspiration results in his death. Sardanapalus refuses to 'live in dread of death' and the afterlife.⁴¹ He has a full and happy existence rather than the life of puritanical asceticism and repression, which would be 'to die / Before my hour'.⁴² This image of the ascetic life as a living death is similar to that in *Childe Harold*. Once again it vividly expresses Byron's disgust for 'those that walk in darkness' and deny life itself in hopes of an afterlife. Byron implicitly supports Sardanapalus, making him a brave and amiable character, worthy of admiration despite the views of his populace. Furthermore, his hedonistic delight in earthly pleasures is contrasted with the ascetic self-control of Salamanes 'the austere', who is 'Hard', with 'a temper too severe'. These censorious phrases could be applied to Calvinists and Dualists alike. Salamanes claims to be the voice of the people, so his views are those of the majority. The drama condemns this majority which believes that the living must suffer and attacks Sardanapalus' desire to negate the 'fatal penalties imposed on life' and alleviate 'mortal misery', eventually killing him for his beliefs.⁴³

³⁹ Calvert, *Byron: a Romantic Paradox*, p.8.

⁴⁰ *Sardanapalus* I.ii.263-265.

⁴¹ I.ii.394.

⁴² I.II.393-394.

⁴³ I.ii.354, 352.

Byron wrote that ‘many of the ills’ which torment humanity spring from not taking the time to make life ‘worth enjoying’.⁴⁴ He believed that:

The great object of life is Sensation – to feel that we exist [...] it is this ‘craving void’ which drives us [...] to intemperate but keenly felt pursuits of every description whose principal attraction is the agitation inseparable from their accomplishment.⁴⁵

This is a statement rejoicing in life itself. Like the above sentiments from *Sardanapalus*, is a far cry from the ‘life of fatal penitence’ encouraged by Calvinism and Dualism and so vehemently condemned by Byron:

Yet not in vain our mortal race hath run –
We have our reward – and it is here, -
That we can yet feel gladdened by the Sun,
And reap from Earth – sea – joy almost as dear
As if there were no man to trouble what is clear.⁴⁶

These lines provide a stark contrast with the earlier passage from *Childe Harold*. Here the ‘mortal race’ is not a ‘hopeless flight’ but merely the pleasurable passage of time over a long life. There are rewards, all is not tears and darkness. Byron urges readers to enjoy life, to be ‘gladdened by the Sun’ and rejoice in the warmth and beauty of nature, to feel ‘joy’ in the soul. The last line is particularly interesting with its reference to ‘man’ as troubling ‘what is clear’. This could be read as an attack on those religions which demanded their adherents sacrifice the joys of this life in hopes of ecstasy in the next, corrupting the purity of God’s love and message. The image of man as disturbing clear waters and muddying the Word of God points to Byron’s loathing for those who ‘choose to mistake madness for Inspiration’, whose ‘religion is injustice’ because their ‘human passions’ have ‘disfigured the divine doctrines’.⁴⁷

Donnelly’s article ‘Byron and Catholicism’ argues that Byron was ‘unique among Romantic poets’ in his lack of regard for ‘visionary solutions to the human predicament’. Although he deeply loathes the misery of human existence, he

⁴⁴ *DJ* XIV.78.

⁴⁵ *BLJ* III.109.

⁴⁶ *CHP* IV.176.

⁴⁷ *BLJ* I.114; *BLJ* II.97, *BLJ* IX. 45.

‘proposes no transcendental compensations’.⁴⁸ His abhorrence for the pronounced asceticism preached by Calvinism and Dualism alike stems from his refusal to believe in these ‘transcendental compensations’. Arguably Byron’s rejection of this self-abnegating way of life stems from a similar impulse as that which set him apart from the Romantics for so long – namely his lack of interest in Imagination and Visionary ideals. Byron’s emphasis on reason and reality is grounded in this world, this plane of existence. He dislikes ‘all things fiction’ and believed any creation with no ‘foundation of fact’ merely displayed ‘the talent of a liar’.⁴⁹ For one such as he, the misty pleasures of a hazy afterlife would hold little attraction, and nor would the Romantic fascination with visions.⁵⁰ Byron’s perceptions of religion colour his attitude towards Calvinist and Dualist asceticism and condemnation of their punitive attitude extended into a wider feeling that religion could lead its adherents away from the real, the factual and the bodily, as they embraced visionary enthusiasm.

On the other hand, the importance of religion in Byron’s work cannot be underestimated. At the beginning of this study I stated that my aim was to explore the intricate subtleties of Byron’s expressions of religion in his work and examine how an awareness of his conflicted attitude towards religion might produce new readings of his texts. Critics such as McGann, Beaty, Stauffer, Gleckner and Barton are wrong in their claims that Byron had little or no religious sensibility and what religion was present in his works was simply a means to garner publicity and engender scandal. Byron included a variety of religious trends and doctrines in his poetry because it was important to him. Chernaik makes a comment in connection with Marvell’s political poetry, which is equally applicable to Byron:

The poet-prophet must write, even if the inhabitants of the cave prefer their darkness, the poet cannot cease telling them of the realms of light.⁵¹

⁴⁸ Donnelly ‘Byron and Catholicism’, in *Radical or Dandy*, p.45.

⁴⁹ BLJ V.203, III.160. The prolific footnotes in the *Eastern Tales* and *CHP* arguably provide further evidence of his belief in this.

⁵⁰ In a letter to George Keats, John Keats claimed that Byron ‘describes what he sees; I describe what I imagine’, claiming his had more value, *The Complete Works of John Keats*, ed. H. Buxton Forman, 5 vols (New York: Thomas Crowell & Co, 1901), V, p.111; Blake’s address to ‘Lord Byron in the wilderness’ in the dedication to the ‘Ghost of Abel’ likens Byron to the prophet Elijah and condemns him for his lack of visionary ideals. See A. Barton, ‘Byron and the Mythology of Fact’, *Byron Foundation Lectures* (1968).

⁵¹ Chernaik, *The Poet’s Time: Politics and Religion in the Work of Andrew Marvell* (Cambridge: University Press 1983), p.2.

Byron continued to write works such as *Don Juan* and *Cain*, which led to his vilification in press and pulpit alike, despite his fears that it would damage his chances of child-custody if his wife died. Although Byron disingenuously claims not to know why there is such a furore about *Cain* and *Don Juan*, arguing that his ‘poeshies’ never damaged anyone or influenced them,⁵² his fears concerning child custody and expectations of accusations of heresy show that he was fully aware of the message and influence of his poems. To recourse to an old adage, Byron believed that sometimes the pen *was* mightier than the sword. He might well claim to be ‘no enemy to religion’ but he was certainly an enemy of those who distort it,⁵³ and in his poems he issues his defiance of ‘all who war / With Thought’.⁵⁴ He sent his poems out as a challenge against religion itself, not against the belief in God, but against the organised hierarchy and rigid regulations of revealed religions which restricted the lives of their followers, whether Scottish Calvinism or Eastern Dualism. Despite his occasional protestations to the contrary, Byron saw his poems as interventions:

But words are like things, and a small drop of ink,
Falling like dew, upon a thought, produces
That which makes thousands, perhaps millions, think.⁵⁵

⁵² BLJ VII. 132. See also BLJ IX.123, where Byron claims to be astonished by ‘this war of “Church and State”’ as he thought of *Cain* as ‘a speculative and hardy, but still harmless production’.

⁵³ BLJ IX.87.

⁵⁴ *DJ* IX.24.

⁵⁵ *DJ* III.88.

Appendix One: Byron's 1807 Reading List.¹

List of the different poets, Dramatic or otherwise, who have distinguished their respective languages by their productions.-

- | | |
|---------------------------|---|
| England - | Milton, Dryden, Spenser, Pope Shakespeare, Massinger, Ben Johnson
Beaumont & Fletcher & - |
| Scotland. - | Ossian or Macpherson, Burns, Ramsay, Walter Scott, Macneill Home
Author of Douglas. - |
| Ireland - | Swift, a Hist in himself. |
| Wales - - - | Taliessin and the Bards |
| France - - - | Voltaire, Chaulieu, Boileau, Moliere, Corneille, Racine, DeLille esteemed the
greatest of living Poets certainly the most successful.- |
| Spain - - - | Lope de Vega, Cervantes author of Galatea a Poem in 6 books but more
renowned as the writer of Don Quixote. |
| Portugal - - | Camoens Author of the Lusiad, a dull poem, but prized by his countrymen as
their only epic effort. |
| Germany - - | Klopstock, Wieland Goethe, Genser, Kleist, Lessing Schiller, Kotzebue |
| Italy | Tasso, Ariosto, Petrarch, Dante, Bembo, Metastasio. |
| Arabia, | Mahomet, whose Koran contains most sublime poetical passages far
surpassing European Poetry |
| Persia - | Ferdousi, author of the Shah Nameh the Persian Iliad, Sadi, and Hafiz, the
immortal Hafiz the oriental Anacreon, the last is revered beyond any Bard
of ancient or modern times by the Persians, who report to his tomb near
Schiraz to celebrate his memory, a splendid copy of his works is chained to
his Monument.- |
| Greece - | Homer, Hesiod, Anacreon, Sappho Alcaeus, Apollonius Rhodius,
Callimachus Menander, Aristophanes, Sophocles, Euripides, Aeschylus,
Pindar. |
| Latin | Virgil, Luncan, Horace, Claudian, Statius, Ovid, Catullus, Tibullus,
Propertius, Ennius, Plautus, Terentius, Seneca |
| America, | an epic Poet has already appeared in that Hemisphere, Barlow, author of the
Columbiad, but nt to be compared with the work of more polished nations.- |
| Iceland, Denmark, Norway, | were famous for their Skalds among these Lodbrog was one of
the most distinguished, his death Song breathes ferocious sentiments, but a glorious and
impassioned Strain of poetry.- |
| Hindustan, | is undistinguished by any great Bard at least the Sanscrit is so imperfectly known
to Europeans, we know not what poetical Relics may exist.- - - |
| The Birman Empire | Here the natives are passionately fond of poetry but their Bards are
unknown |
| China - - - - | I never heard of any Chinese Poet but the <i>Emperor Kien Long</i> ,
and his ode to <i>Tea</i> , what a pity their Philosopher Confucius did
not write Poetry with precepts of morality.- |
| Africa - - - - | In Africa, some of the native melodies are plaintive, & the words
simple and affecting, but whether these rude strains of nature,
can be classed with Poetry, as the songs of the Bards, the Skalds
of Europe &. I know not - |

This brief list of Poets, I have written down from memory, without any Book of Reference, consequently some errors may occur, but I think if any very trivial, the works of the European & some of the Asiatic, I have perused either in the original, or Translations, in my list of English, I have merely mentioned the greatest, to enumerate the minor poets would be useless, as well as tedious, perhaps Gray, Goldsmith, and Collins, or Thompson might have

¹ Taken from A. Nicholson ed., *Lord Byron: The Complete Miscellaneous Prose* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), pp.1-7.

been added as worthy of mention in a *Cosmopolite* account, but as for the others from Chaucer down to Churchill they are 'voces & praetera nihil' sometimes spoken of, rarely read, & never with advantage.- Chaucer notwithstanding the praises bestowed on him, I think obscene, and contemptible, he owes his celebrity, merely to his antiquity, which he does not deserve so well as Piers Plowman, or Thomas of Ercildoune, English living poets I have avoided mentioning, we have none who will not survive their productions. Taste us over with us, & another century, will sweep our Empire, our literature, & our name from all, but a place in the annals of mankind. - - - -

Byron Nov. 30th 1807

List of Historical Writers whose Works I have perused in different languages.

Hume, Gibbon, Robertson, Orme, Voltaire, Rollin, Rapin, Smollet, Henry, Knolles, Cantemir, Paul Rycaut, Vertot, Livy, Tacitus, Eutropius, Arrian, Thucydides, Xenophon Herodotus, with several others whom I shall enumerate under their respective heads.

History of England - - Hume, Rapin, Henry Smollet, Tindal, Belsham, Bisset Adolphus, Holinshead, Froisart's Chronicles belonging properly to France.

- - - - -

Scotland, Buchananm Hector Boethius, both in the Latin,
Ireland, by, Gordon

Rome, - - Hooke, Decline and Fall by Gibbon, Ancient History by Rollin, including an Account of the Carthaginians &. &. Besides Livy, Tacitus, Eutropius, Cornelius Nepos, Julius Caesar, Arrian Sallust,

Greece, Mitford's Greece, Lelands Phillip, Plutarch, Potters Antiquities, Xenophon Thcydides, Herodotus.

France - - - Mezeray, Voltaire.

Spain - - - I Chiefly derived my knowledge of old Spanish History from a book called the Atlas, now obsolete, the modern history from the intrigues of Alberoni down to the Prince of Peace I learned from their connection with European Politics. - - -

Portugal - - From Vertot, as also his account of the Siege of Rhodes, though the last is his own Invention, the real facts being totally different, - so much for his Knights of Malta. -

Turkey, I have read Knolles, Sir Paul Rycaut, and Prince Cantemir, besides a more modern History, anonymous, of the Ottoman History I know every event, from Tangralopix, and afterwards Othman Ist to the peace of Passarowitz, in 1718. - the Battle of Crotzka in 1839 & the treaty between Russia & Turkey in 1790. Tookes, Life of Catherine 2.^d Voltaires Czar Peter.

Russia
Sweden, Voltaires Charles 12th also Norberg's Charles 12th in my opinion the best of the two, a Translation of Schiller's thirty years war contains the exploits and Death of Gustavus Adolphus, besides Harte's Life of the same Prince, - - - - I have somewhere read an account of Gustavus Vasa, the Deliverer of Sweden, but do not remember the author's name.

Prussia, I have seen at least twenty of the Lives of Frederick the 2^d the only Prince worth recording in Prussian annals. Gillies, His own works and Thiebault, none very amusing, the last is paltry, but circumstantial. -

Denmark, I know little of, of Norway I understand the natural History but not the chronological. -

Germany, I have read long Histories of the Swabia, Wenceslaus and at length Rudolph of Hapsburg & his *thick lipped* Austrian Descendants.

Switzerland,	Ah! William Tell and the Battle of Morgarten, where Burgundy was slain.
Italy,	Davila, Guiccidini, The Guelphs, & Gibellines, the Battle Pavia, Massaniello, the Revolutions Naples & . &.
Hindostan - -	Orme, & Cambridge.
America, - -	Robertson, Andrews American War.
Africa - -	Merely from Travels as Mungo Park, Bruce.
Biography - -	Robertson's Charles 5. th Caesar, Sallust, Cataline & Jugurtha, Lives of Marlborough & Eugene, Tekeli Bonneval, Buonoparte, all the British Poets, both Johnson & Anderson, Rousseau's Confessions, Life of Cromwell, British Plutarch, British Nepos, Campbell's lives of the Admirals, Charles 12 th Czar Peter, Catherine 2 ^d , Henry L ^d Kames, Marmontel, Teignmouth's Sir William Jones, Life of Newton, Belisaire, with thousands not to be detailed.
Law,	Blackstone, Montesquieu.
Philosophy,	Paley, Locke, Bacon, Hume, Berkely, Drummond Beattie, and Bolingbroke, Hobbes I detest. -
Geography,	Strabo, Cellarius, Adams, Pinkerton, and Guthrie.
Poetry, -	all the British Classic's as before detailed, with most of the living Poets Scott, Southey &c. some French in the original of which the Cid is my favorite, a little Italian, Greek & Latin without number, these last I shall give up in future, I have translated a good deal from Both languages, verse as well as prose. - -
Eloquence,	Demosthenes, Cicero, Quintilian Sheridan, Austin's Chironomia, and Parliamtary Debates from the Revolution to the year 1742.
	- -
Elocution,	Enfield's Speaker. -
Divinity,	Blair, Porteous, Tillotson, Hooker, all very tiresome, - - I abhor Religion, though I reverence and love my God, without the blasphemous notions of Sectaries, or a belief in their absurd & damnable Heresies, mysteries, & thirty nine articles. -
Miscellanies	turn over
Miscellanies, -	Spectator,. Rambler, World, & . &. Novels by the thousand. - - -

All the Books here enumerated, I have taken down from memory, I recollect reading them, & can quote passages from any mentioned, I have of course omitted several, in my catalogue, but the greater part of the above I perused before the age of fifteen, but since I left Harrow I have become idle, & conceited, from scribbling rhyme, & making love to Women -

B. Nov. 30th. 1807

I have also read (to my regret at present) above four thousand novels including the Works of Cervantes, Fielding, Smollet Richardson Mackenzie, Sterne, Rabelais & Rousseau, &c. &c. - The Book in my opinion most useful to a man, who wishes to acquire the reputation of being well read, with the least trouble, is "Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy" the most amusing & instructive medley, of quotations & Classical anecdotes I have ever perused. - - But a superficial Reader must take care, of his intricacies will bewilder him, if however he has patience to go through his volumes, he will be more improved for literary conversations, than by the perusal of any twenty other works with which I am acquainted at the least in the English Language. -

Appendix Two: Byron's 1813 Sale Catalogue¹

1813 SALE
A
CATALOGUE OF BOOKS,
THE PROPERTY OF A NOBLEMAN
[in ink in margin: Lord Byron / J.M.]
ABOUT TO LEAVE ENGLAND
ON A TOUR OF THE MOREA.
TO WHICH ARE ADDED
A SILVER SEPULCHRAL URN,
CONTAINING
RELICS BROUGHT FROM ATHENS IN 1811,
AND
A SILVER CUP,
THE PROPERTY OF THE SAME NOBLE PERSON;
WHICH WILL BE
SOLD BY AUCTION
BY R. H. EVANS
AT HIS HOUSE, No. 26, PALL-MALL,
On Thursday July 8th, and following Day. Catalogues may be had, and the
Books viewed at the
Place of Sale.
Printed by W. Bulmer and Co. Cleveland-row, St. James's.
1813.
FIRST DAY'S SALE

Octavo et Infra.

1 Ducarel's Poems. – Kirke White's Poems. – Girdlestone's Anacreon. – Baker's Poems – Royal Eclipse, in all 5 vols. *russia*.

2 Memoirs of Talleyrand, 2 vols. Flowers of Literature. – Moral Narratives. – Pleasures of Love. – Cowley's Works, 2 vols. – Ovid's Metamorphoses, by Garth. – Cartwright's Letters, – and Mayne's Poems, in all 10 vols.

3 Lord Chatham's Letters. – Penn's Bioscope. Butler's Lives of Fénélon and Bossuet, 4 vols.

4 Translations from the Greek Anthology. – Xenophon's Expedition of Cyrus. – Rejected Addresses. – Licida da Mathias. – OEuvres de Cazotte, 3 vols, in all 7 vols.

5 Bacon's Essays. – Man of Feeling. – Lord Lyttleton's Letters, 2 vols. – 4 vols.

6 Oldham's Works, 2 vols. – Letters of a Mameluke, 2 vols. – Williams's State of France, 2 vols. – Spirit of the Public Journals. – Flowers of Literature. – Hobhouse on the Origin of Sacrifices, six copies. – Lettres du Prince de Ligne, 2 vols. Macauley's Poetical Effusions, and Jones's Epistles.

7 Cornelius Nepos, Oxon, 1803. – Sallusti Opera, Glasg. 1777. Horatius, Eton 1791.

8 Coleridge's Poems. – Milton's Paradise Lost. – Edgeworth's Modern Griselda.

9 Akenside's Poems. – Poems of Addison, Pomfret, Mallet, Collins, Smollett, Gray, Goldsmith, Armstrong, &c. – Poetry of the Anti-Jacobin. – Adventures of an Atom. – Holloway's Poems.

10 Walton's Apologies for the Bible and Christianity. – Lord Baltimore's Tour of the

¹ (The sale was subsequently cancelled as Byron postponed his trip abroad), this and both subsequent sale catalogues were adapted from those listed in P. Cochrane, 'Byron's Library', (www.internationalbyronsociety.org).

East. Temple's Account of the Netherlands. – Bland's Edwy and Elgiva, and seven others.

11 Demosthenis Orationes selectæ a Mounteney. – Ciceronis Orationes Selectæ Delphini.

12 Selecta ex Poetis Græcis – Xenophontis Cyropædia Hutchinsoni, and Sophocles Electra.

13 Hurd's Horace, 2 vols. – Busbequius's Travels. – Gifford's Baviad and Mæviad. – Veneroni's Grammar and six more.

14 Wright's Horæ Ionicæ. – Elgin's Pursuits in Greece. – Simpson's Euclid, – Mackenzie on the Authenticity of Ossian, and five more.

15 Gazeteer of Scotland. – Wilson's Isle of Palms. – Hay's History of the Insurrection of Wexford. – Penal Laws of Ireland, and six others.

16 Paterson's Book of Roads 1811. – Metrical Effusions. – Hutton's Battle of Bosworth Field. – Wood's Mechanics. – Angelo's School of Fencing, and twelve others.

17 Alciphronis Epistolæ, Bergleri.

18 Art of Tormenting, *russia*.

19 Aikin's Annual Review for 1806, 1807, and 1808, 3 vols.

20 Aikin's Annual Review for 1807.

21 Adam's Summary of Geography, *russia*, 1801

22 Æschylus a Porson, 2 vols, *russia*, Glasg. 1806

23 Æschylus a Schutz, 3 vol. *russia*, Haloe 1798

24 Aristotelis Poetica a Tyrwhitt. Oxon. 1794

25 Anacreon a Forster, morocco, Lond. 1802

26 Anacreon by Moore, 2 vols, *russia*, 1806

27 Anderson's British Poets, 14 vols. 1795

28 Ancient British Drama, 3 vols. 1810

29 Annual (New) Register for 1807.

30 Arabian Nights by Scott, with an additional set of plates inserted, 6 vols. *green morocco*. 1811

31 Account of the most celebrated Pedestrians, 1813

32 Another, (2 copies) 1813

33 Another (2 copies), 1813

34 Biographical Anecdotes of the Founders of the French Republic, 2 vols. 1799

35 Barker's Classical Recreations, 1812

36 Byron's (Lord) Childe Harold, *russia*, 1812

37 British Novelists with Prefaces, by Mrs. Barbauld, 50 vols. 1810

38 British Essayists by Chalmers, 45 vols. 1803

39 Biographical Peerage, 2 vols. 1808

40 Barré's History of the French Consulate, 1804

41 Biographie Moderne, or Lives of distinguished Characters in the French Revolution, 3 vols. 1811

42 Beloe's Anecdotes of Literature, 2 vols. 1807

43 Boswell's Life of Johnson, 4 vols. 1807

44 Burns' Works, 5 vols. 1806

45 Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy, 2 vols, *russia* 1806

46 Blackstone's Commentaries, by Christian, 4 vols, *russia* 1803

47 Bisset's History of George III, 6 vols, *russia* 1802

48 Buffon's Natural History, by Smellie, 18 vols, *russia* 1792

49 Beauties of England and Wales, 11 vols. 1801, &c.

50 Bonnycastle's Astronomy, *russia*, 1807

51 Bruce's Travels, 8 vols, LARGE PAPER, 1805

52 Browne's British Cicero, 3 vols. 1808

53 Bisset's Life of Burke, 2 vols. 1800

54 Biographical Dictionary by Chalmers, 9 vols, 1812

55 Bland's Collections from the Greek Anthology, 1813

56 Cumberland's John de Lancaster, 3 vols. 1809

57 Count Fathom, Humphry Clinker and Launcelot Greaves, 5 vols. 1809

- 58 Crabbe's Poems, 2 vols. 1809
- 59 Cowper's Poems, 2 vols.
- 60 Citizen of the World, 2 vols. 1790
- 61 Camilla, 5 vols, *russia* 1802
- 62 Corinna or Italy, 3 vols. 1807
- 63 Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates from 1803 to 1812, 21 vol.
- 64 Cobbett's Parliamentary History, 13 vols. 1806
- 65 Carleton's Memoirs, 1808
- 66 Chesterfield's Miscellaneous Works, 4 vols. *russia* 1779
- 67 Cumberland's Memoirs of his Life, 2 vols, *russia* 1807
- 68 Churchill's Poetical Works, 2 vols, *russia* 1804
- 69 Catullus, Tibullus, et Propertius, Variorum. *Tr. ad Rhen.* 1680
- 70 Creed, Grammatica Linguae Græcæ Hoderniæ, *Veronæ* 1782
- 71 Caliph Vathek, *red morocco* 1786
- 72 Critical Review from 1795 to 1807, 38 vols.
- 73 Dallas's Knights, a Tale, 3 vols. 1808
- 74 Dutens's Memoirs of a Traveller, 5 vols, *russia* 1806
- 75 Don Quixote, Cooke's edition, fine paper.
- 76 Dryden's Poems, 3 vols. 18mo.
- 77 D'Israeli's Calamities of Authors, 2 vols. 1812
- 78 Dallas's Novels, 7 vols. 1813
- 79 D'Israeli's Curiosities of Literature, 2 vol. 1807
- 80 Demosthenes a Mounteney, 1799
- 81 Demosthenes ab Allen, *russia*, Oxon, 1807
- 82 Demosthenes, by Leland, 2 vol. *russia*, 1806
- 83 Dryden's Works, by Scott, 18 vol. LARGE PAPER, *russia*, 1808
- 84 Drake's Literary Hours, 2 vol. 1800
- 85 Edgeworth's Fashionable Tales, 6 vol. 1809
- 86 Eugene's Memoirs, 1811
- 87 Elegant Extracts in Verse, 1805
- 88 Euripides Medea et Phœnissæ a Piers Cantab. 1703
- 89 Euripides Tragoediæ 4 a Porson, *russia*, Lips. 1802
- 90 Euripides Troades a Burges, LARGE PAPER, *russia*, Cant. 1807
- 91 Edinburgh Review, 8 vol.
- 92 Edinburgh Review, 12 odd numbers
- 93 Epictetus, by Carter, 2 vol. 1807
- 94 Edinburgh Annual Register for 1810, 2 vol.
- 95 Elegant Extracts in Verse, 2 vol.
- 96 Flim Flams, 3 vol. *russia*, 1805
- 97 Ford's Dramatic Works, 2 vol. 1811
- 98 Falconer's Shipwreck, by Clarke, 1804
- 99 Fernandez's Spanish Grammar, *russia*, 1805
- 100 Gil Blas, 4 vol. Cooke's edition, FINE PAPER.
- 101 Granger's Biographical History of England, and Noble's Continuation, 7 vol. LARGE PAPER, 1804
- 102 Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, 12 vol. 1807
- 18
- 103 Gisborne's Familiar Survey of Christianity, 1801
- 104 Gifford's Baviad and Mæviad, 1797
- 105 Grammont's Memoirs, 3 vol. 1809
- 106 Genlis' Siege of La Rochelle, 3 vol. 1803
- 107 Grahame's Poems, 2 vol. *russia*, 1807
- 108 Grant on the Superstition of the Highlanders, 2 vol. 1811
- 109 History of the Buccaneers, 2 vol.
- 110 Historic Gallery of Portraits and Paintings, 7 vol. 1807
- 111 Hooke's Roman History, 11 vol. 1810
- 112 Hume's History of England, 8 vol. 1807
- 113 Homer's Iliad and Odyssey, by Cowper, 4 vol, *russia* 1802
- 114 Hayley's Life of Cowper, 4 vol. *russia*, 1806
- 115 Hardy's Life of Lord Charlemont, 2 vol. 1812

- 116 Herodotus, by Beloe, 4 vol. 1806
 19
 117 Homeri Ilias, a Clarke, 2 vol. 1760
 118 Horatius Gesneri, LARGE PAPER, *morocco*, 1806
 119 Homeri Ilias, Græcè, LARGE PAPER, Oxon. 1758

Quarto.

- 120 Ainsworth's Latin Dictionary
 121 Aiken and Enfield's General Biography, 7 vol. 1799, &c.
 122 Austin on Rhetorical Delivery, *russia*, 1806
 123 Broughton's Letters from a Marhatta Camp, 1813
 124 Blair's Grave, with Blake's Designs, 1808
 125 Browne's Travels in Africa, 1806
 126 Blomfield's General View of the World, 2 vol. 1804
 127 Clarke's Travels, vol. 2, 1812
 128 Carr's Stranger in France 1803
 129 Carr's Travels through Denmark, Sweden, &c 1805
 130 Carr's Tour through Scotland, 1809
 20
 131 Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, by Tyrhwhitt, 2 vol, LARGE PAPER, Oxf. 1798
 132 Coxe's History of the House of Austria, 3 vol. 1807
 133 Coxe's Memoirs of the Bourbon Kings of Spain, 3 vol. 1813
 134 Campbell's Gertrude of Wyoming, 1809
 135 Colman's Poetical Vagaries, 1802
 136 Costume of Turkey, *red morocco*, 1802
 137 Dekker's Gull's Hornbook, by Nott, 1812
 138 Davila, Historia delle Guerre Civili di Francia, 2 vol. Lond. 1755
 139 Edinburgh Encyclopædia, 4 vol. and 5, part I
 140 Fox's History of James the Second, ELEPHANT PAPER, *russia*, 1803
 141 Galt's Life of Wolsey, LARGE PAPER, 1812
 142 Hodgson's Juvenal, 1807
 143 Holinshed's Chronicles, 6 vol. 1807
 144 Hope's Costume of the Ancients, 2 vol. 1809
 145 Hederici Lexicon Græcum, *russia*, 1803
 21
 146 Juvenal, by Gifford, 1802
 147 Biographia Britannica, by Kippis, 5 vol. 1778, &c
 148 General Dictionary, Historical and Critical, including Bayle, 10 vol. half bound, uncut, 1734
 149 Herbelot Bibliothèque Orientale, Maest. 1776
 150 Meletii Geographia Antiqua et Moderna, in Lingua Græca, Hodierna, *russia*, Ven.

SECOND DAY.

Octavo et Infra.

- 153 Hodgson's Lady Jane Grey, 1809
 154 History of Pugilism, 1812. – Pride and Prejudice, 3 vols. 1813 – Sense and Sensibility, 3 vols. 1811. – Despotism, 2 vols. 1811. – Volume of Plays.
 155 Janes' Beauties of the Poets, 1800
 156 Junius's Letters, 2 vols. *russia*, 1806
 157 Junius's Letters by Woodfall, 3 vols. LARGE PAPER, 1812
 158 Johnson's Dictionary, 4 vols. *russia*, 1805
 159 Johnson's Lives of the Poets, 3 vols. *russia*, 1806
 160 Juvenal and Persius, by Madan, 2 vols. 1807
 161 Juvenal et Persius, Variorum, *L. Bat.* 1664
 162 Inchbald's British Theatre, 25 vols. FINE PAPER, 1808
 163 Inchbald's Collection of Farces, 7 vol. FINE PAPER, 1809
 164 Italian by Mrs. Radcliffe, 3 vol. 1811
 165 Kaim's Elements of Criticism, 2 vol. *russia*, 1805
 166 Louvet, Vie de Faublas, 4 vol. *Par.* 1807

- 167 Lewis's Romantic Tales, 4 vol. 1808
- 168 Lebrun's Monsieur Botte, 3 vol. 1803
- 169 Lebrun's Barons of Felsheim, 3 vol. *russia*, 1804
- 170 Lebrun's My Uncle Thomas, 4 vol. *russia*, 1801
- 171 Locke on Human Understanding, 2 vol. *russia*, 1804
- 172 Lempriere's Classical Dictionary, *russia*, 1801
- 173 Luciani Operi, 10 vol. *Bipont*, 1789
- 174 Lyre of Love, 2 vol. *russia*,
- 175 Meiner's History of the Female Sex, 4 vols. 1808. – Dangerous Connections, 4 vol. – Life of Faublas, 4 vol.
- 176 Miseries of Human Life, 2 vol. *plates*, *russia*, 1807
- 177 Montaigne, Essais de, 3 vol. 1802
- 178 Mrs Moore's Coelebs, 2 vol. 1808
- 179 Memoirs of the Margravine of Bareith, 2 vol. 1812
- 180 Middleton's Life of Cicero, 3 vol. *russia*, 1804
- 181 Milton's Prose Works, 7 vol. LARGE PAPER, 1806
- 182 Montaigne's Essays, 3 vols. 1811
- 183 Mirabeau de la Monarchie Prussienne sous Frédéric le Grand, 7 vol. 1788
- 184 Mitford's History of Greece, 6 vol. *russia*, 1795
- 185 Murphy's Life of Garrick, 2 vol. *russia*, 1801
- 186 Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws, *russia*, 1793
- 187 Monumens de la Vie Privée des douze Césars, *russia*, 1782
- 188 Massinger's Plays by Gifford, 4 vol. 1805
- 189 Another copy, 4 vol. 1813
- 190 Nichol's Literary Anecdotes of the 18th century, 7 vol. 1812
- 191 Ossian's Poems, 3 vol. *russia*, 1805
- 192 Ossian's Poems, Gaelic and Latin, 3 vol. *russia*, 1807
- 193 Poets of Great Britain from the time of Chaucer to Sir William Jones. Bagster's edition, bound in 61 vol. *russia*, in a travelling case, 1807
- 194 Petrarca, 2 vol. *morocco*, Lond. 1807
- 195 Peregrine Pickle, 4 vol. Cooke's ed. FINE PAPER, 1813
- 196 Philosophy of Nature, 2 vol. 1813
- 197 Peter Pindar's Works, 5 vol. 1794
- 198 Public Characters, 8 vol. *russia*, 1799
- 199 Public Characters for 1806, 1806
- 200 Pinkerton's Modern Geography, *russia*, 1803
- 201 Pope's Works by Bowles, 10 vol. 1806
- 202 Poetical Register, 4 vol. *russia*, 1802
- 203 Paley's Philosophy, 2 vol. *russia*, 1806
- 204 Parke's Chemical Catechism, 1808
- 205 Petronius Arbiter Variorum, *Amst.* 1669
- 206 Pratt's Poems, 1806
- 207 Pursuits of Literature, 1808
- 208 Portroyal Greek Grammar, *russia*, 1797
- 209 Plutarch's Lives by Langhorne, 6 vol. 1809
- 210 Pott's Gazeteer of England, 1810
- 211 Polybius by Hampton, 3 vol. 1809
- 212 The Ring and the Well, 4 vol. 1808
- 213 Revolutionary Plutarch, 3 vol. 1806
- 214 Roderic Random, 2 vol.
- 215 Roscoe's Life of Lorenzo de Medici, 3 vol. 1806
- 216 Rolliad and Probationary Odes, 1799
- 217 Another copy, 1812
- 218 Rogers's Poems, 1812
- 219 Secret History of the Court of St. Cloud, 3 vol. 1806
- 220 Southey's Madoc, 2 vol. 1807
- 221 Shakespeare's Poems, 2 vol. 1804
- 222 St. Pierre's Studies of Nature abridged, 1799
- 223 Spirit of the Public Journals, 1803

- 224 Salluste par Delamalle, 2 vol. *Par.* 1803
- 225 Lettres de Sévigné, 11 vol. *Par.* 1806
- 226 Shakespeare's Plays, 20 vols. Bell's edition, 1788
- 227 Strangford's Camoens, *russia*,
- 228 Secret History of Bonaparte's Cabinet, 1811
- 229 St. Pierre's Studies of Nature, 3 vol. 1799
- 230 Scott's Lay of the Last Minstrel, *russia*, 1807
- 231 Scott's Ballads, *russia*, 1806
- 232 Scott's Border Minstrelsy, 3 vol. 1802
- 233 Sheridan on Elocution, *russia*, 1798
- 234 Saugnier and Bresson's Voyages to Africa, 1792
- 235 OEuvres de Saint-Simon, 13 vol. *Strasb.* 1791
- 236 Ségur's History of Women, 3 vol. 1800
- 237 Ségur's Reign of Frederic II, 3 vol. 1801
- 238 Sturm's Reflections, 2 vol. 1804
- 239 Sheldrake on Distortion in Children, 2 copies, 1806
- 240 Sheldrake on Inclined Plane Wheels, 1811
- 241 Sinclair's Code of Health, 4 vol. 1807
- 242 Another Copy, 4 vol. 1807
- 243 Smither's Poems, *russia*, 1807
- 244 Stephens's Life of Horne Tooke, 2 vol. 1813
- 245 Stewart's Philosophy of the Human Mind, *russia*,
- 246 Stewart's Outlines of Moral Philosophy.
- 247 Seward's Memoirs of Darwin, 1804. Christian Knowledge, 1795. Memoirs of Gen. Lee, 1792. Tracts, by Thyers, 1712. Nicholl's Anecdotes of Hogarth, 1781.
- 248 Turnbull's Voyage round the World, 3 vol. 1805
- 249 Tasso's Jerusalem, by Hoole, 2 vol. *russia*, 1803
- 250 Tom Jones, 3 vol. *Cooke's edition, fine paper.*
- 251 Thiebault's Anecdotes of Frederic II, 2 vol. 1805
- 252 Taylor's Travels to India, 2 vol.
- 253 Tiraboschi Vocabolario Italiano-Latino, *Milan*, 1794
- 254 Tacitus, by Murphy, 8 vol. 1807
- 255 Tales of the East, 3 vol. 1812
- 256 Tasso, Gerusalemme Liberata, 2 vol. *mor. Lond.*
- 257 Voltaire's Works, by Francklin, and Smollett, &c. 36 vol. 1778
- 258 Vigerus de Idiotismis Græcis, Hermannii, *russia*, 1808
- 259 Walker's (Commodore) Voyages, 2 vol.
- 260 Wordsworth's Poems, 2 vol. Wordsworth's Lyrical Ballads, 2 vol. *in russia, uniform.*
- 261 White's (Kirke) Remains, 2 vol. 1808
- 262 Walsingham, by Mrs. Robinson, 4 vol. *russia*, 1805
- 263 Warton on the Genius of Pope, 2 vol. 1806
- 264 Wanley's Wonders of the Little World, 2 vol. 1806
- 265 Kinneir's Geographical Memoir of Persia, 1813
- 266 Kelsall's Letters from Athens, 1812
- 267 Lempriere's Universal Biography, 1808
- 268 Lavater's Physiognomy, by Hunter, 5 vol. *blue mor.* 1789
- 269 Malcolm's Manners and Customs of London, during the 18th Century, 1808
- 270 Macartney's Embassy to China, 2 vol. 1798
- 271 Maps to Cellarius's Geography, 1806
- 272 Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson, *russia*, 1806

Appendix Three: 1816 Sale Catalogue

1816 SALE

(Cover):

A

CATALOGUE

OF A

COLLECTION OF BOOKS,

LATE THE

PROPERTY OF A NOBLEMAN

ABOUT TO LEAVE ENGLAND ON A TOUR,

INCLUDING

The Large Plates to Boydell's Shakespeare, 2 vol. **PROOF IMPRESSIONS**, *red morocco*. – Birch's General Dictionary, 10 vol. – Morieri, Dictionnaire Historique, 10 vol. – Lavater's Physiognomy, 5 vol. *morocco*. – Sophocles Bruncii, 2 vol. *russia*. – Malcolm's History of Persia, 2 vol. *russia*. Dryden's Works, 18 vol. **LARGE PAPER**, *russia*. – Beauties of England, 11 vol. – Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates, 31 vol. – State Trials, 21 vol. – And some Romaic books of which no other Copies are in this Country.

AND

A Large Skreen covered with Portraits of Actors, Pugilists,
Representations of Boxing Matches, &c.

WHICH WILL BE

SOLD BY AUCTION

BY MR. EVANS,

AT HIS HOUSE, No. 26, PALL MALL.

On Friday, April 5, and following Day.

(page 3):

CATALOGUE

OF A COLLECTION OF BOOKS,

LATE THE PROPERTY OF A NOBLEMAN.

FIRST DAY'S SALE.

*The Sale will commence each Day PUNCTUALLY AT
HALF PAST TWELVE.*

Octavo et Infra.

1 A Lot of Pamphlets.

2 A Collection of odd Volumes.

3 Ducarel's Poems. – Kirke White's Poems. – Girdlestone's Anacreon. – Baker's Poems. – Royal Eclipse, – in all 5 vol. *russia*.

4 Lord Chatham's Letters. – Penn's Bioscope. – Butler's Lives of Fénelon and Bossuet. – 4 vol.

5 Translations from the Greek Anthology. – Xenophon's Expedition of Cyrus. – Rejected Addresses. – Licida da Mathias. – OEuvres de Cazotte, 3 vol. – in all 7 vols.

6 Bacon's Essays. – Man of Feeling. – Lord Lyttelton's Letters, 2 vol. – in all 4 vol.

7 Poetical Register, 2 vol. – Oldham's Works, 2 vol. – Letters of a Mameluke, 2 vol. –

Williams's State of France, 2 vol. Spirit of the Journals. – Flowers of Literature. –

Hobhouse on the Origin of Sacrifices, six copies. – Macauley's Poetical Effusions.

8 Cornelius Nepos, Oxon. 1803. Salustii Opera, Glasg. 1777. Horatius, Eton, 1791.

9 Coleridge's Poems. Milton's Paradise Lost. Edgeworth's Modern Griselda.

10 Akenside's Poems. Poems of Addison, Pomfret, Mallet, Collins, Smollet, Gray, Goldsmith, Armstrong, &c.

- 11 Parsey's Poems. Bowles's Missionary. Irving's Fair Helen. Lowe 2s
- 12 Shee's Commemoration of Reynolds, 1814. Lord Thurlow's Poems, 1813, and 10 more.
- 13 Conjuraton du duc d'Orleans, 3 vol. Par. 1796. Levis, Souvenirs et Portraits, 1813. Mémoires de la Marguerite de Bareith, 2 vol. and 7 more.
- 14 Biographical Dictionary, 11 vol. wanting vol. 8, and various others.
- 15 Saugnier and Brisson's Voyage to Africa, 1792. Walker's Voyages, 2 vol. 1760. Memoir of the Queen of Etruria, 1814. Journey to Paris, 1814. Penrose's journal, 4 vol. 1815.
- 16 Despotism, or Fall of the Jesuits, 2 vol. 1811. Anecdotes of the French Nation, 1794, and 12 more.
- 17 Veneroni's Italian Grammar, 1812, and 9 School Books.
- 18 Xenophontis Cyropoedia Hutchinsoni, 1797. Ciceronis Orationes Selectæ, Delphini, 1803. Demosthenis Orationes Selectæ, 1791.
- 19 Italian and English Dictionary, 1806. Veneroni's Italian Grammar, 1806. Graglia's Guide to Italian, 1803. Zotti's Italian Vocabulary. — 4 vol.
- 20 Anquetil, Louis XIV. La Cour et le Regent, 4 vol. Par. 1789.
- 21 Art of Tormenting, *russia*, 1806.
- 22 Adams's Summary of Geography and History, *russia*, 1802.
- 22 Ancient British Drama, 3 vol. 1810.
- 23 Arabian Nights, by Scott, 6 vol. LARGEST PAPER, with an additional set of plates inserted, green morocco, 1811.
- 23 Anderson's British Poets, 14 vol. 1795.
- 24 Alciphronis Epistolæ, Gr. et Lat., Bergleri, Lips. 1715.
- 24* Æschylus a Porson, 2 vol. *russia*, Glasg. 1806.
- 25 Æschylus a Schutz, 3 vol. *russia*, Haloe, 1798.
- 25* Aristotelis Poetica a Tyrwhitt, Oxon. 1794.
- 26 Anacreon a Forster, morocco, Lond. 1802.
- 26* Anacreon by Moore, 2 vol. *russia*, 1806.
- 27 Account of the most celebrated Pedestrians, 1813.
- 28 Ariosto, Orlando Furioso, 4 vol. Livorn. 1797.
- 29 ————— 5 vol. Par. 1786.
- 30 Byron's (Lord) Hebrew Melodies, 1815.
- 31 Another Copy, 1815.
- 32 Another Copy, 1815.
- 33 Another Copy, 1815.
- 34 Beaumont and Fletcher's Works, with notes by Weber, 14 vol. 1812.
- 35 British Drama, 5 vol. 1804.
- 36 British Novelists, with prefaces by Mrs. Barbauld, 50 vols, 1810.
- 37 British Essayists, by Chalmers, 45 vol. 1808.
- 38 Beloe's Anecdotes of Literature, 2 vol. 1807.
- 40 Burns' Works, 5 vol, 1806.
- 41 Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy, 2 vol. *russia*, 1806.
- 42 Blackstone's Commentaries, by Christian, 4 vol. *russia*, 1803.
- 43 Bisset's History of George III. 6 vol. *russia*, 1803.
- 44 Buffon's Natural History, by Smellie, 18 vol. *russia*, 1792.
- 45 Beauties of England and Wales, 11 vol. 1801, &c.
- 46 Bonnycastle's Astronomy, *russia*, 1807.
- 47 Bruce's Travels, 8 vols. LARGE PAPER, 605.
- 48 Browne's British Cicero, 3 vol. 1808.
- 49 Bisset's Life of Burke, 2 vol. 1800.
- 50 Biographical Dictionary, by Chalmers, 25 vol. 1812.
- 51 Bland's Collections from the Greek Anthology, 1813.
- 52 Bland's Collection of Proverbs, 2 vol. 1814.
- 53 Baretti's Italian Dictionary, 2 vol. 1813.
- 54 Biographie Moderne, or Lives of Eminent Persons, 3 vol. 1811. Grimm's Literary Memoirs, 2 vol. 1814. — 5 vol.
- 55 Bandello, Novelle, 8 vol. wanting vol. 9, Livorn, 1791.
- 56 Cobbett's Parliamentary History of England, 13 vol. 1806
- 57 Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates, from the commencement in 1803 to 1815, 31 vol.

- 58 Cobbett's Collection of State Trials, 21 vol. 1809.
- 59 Chardin, Voyages en Perse, 10 vol. and Atlas, Par. 1811.
- 60 Cibber's Apology for his Life, 2 vol. 1756.
- 61 Carleton's Memoirs, 1808.
- 62 Chesterfield's Miscellaneous Works, 4 vols. *russia*, 1779
- 63 Cumberland's Memoirs of his Life, 2 vol. *russia*, 1807
- 64 Churchill's Poetical Works, 2 vol. *russia*, 1804.
- 65 Catullus, Tibullus, et Propertius, Variorum, *Tr. ad Rhen.* 1680.
- 66 Creed, Grammatica Lingux Graecar Hodiernae, *Veronæ.* 1782.
- 67 Cumberland's John de Lancaster, 3 vol. 1809.
- 68 Count Fathom, Humphry Clinker and Launcelot Greaves. 5 vol.
- 69 Crabbe's Poems, 2 vol. 1809.
- 70 Cowper's Poems, 2 vol.
- 71 Citizen of the World, 2 vol. 1790. Lowe 1s
- 72 Camilla, 5 vol. *russia*, 1802. Fortescue £1
- 73 Corinna, or Italy, 3 vol. 1807.
- 74 Critical Review, from 1795 to 1807, 38 vol. wanting vol.34
- 75 Dryden's Works, by Scott, 18 vol. LARGE PAPER, *Russia*, 1808
- 76 Drake's Literary Hours, 2 vol. 1800.
- 77 D'Israeli's Curiosities of Literature, 2 vol. 1807
- 78 Calamities of Authors, 2 vol. 1812.
- 79 Quarrels of Authors, 3 vol. 1814.
- 80 Dunlop's History of Fiction, 3 vol. 1814.
- 81 Another Copy, 3 vol. 1814.
- 82 Discipline, a Novel, 3 vol. 1814.
- 83 De Stael's Germany, 3 vol. 1813.
- 84 Dibdin's Metrical History of England, 2 vol. Cabanel's Poems, 1814. — 3 vol.
- 85 Dallas's Knights, 3 vol. Dallas's Novels. — 7 vol.
- 86 Dryden's Poems, 3 vol. 18mo. Reynolds's Safie, morocco, 1814.
- 87 Dutens's Memoirs of a Traveller, 5 vol. *russia*, 1806.
- 88 Don Quixote, 4 vol. Cooke's edition, *fine* paper, and Gil Blas, 4 vol. *fine* paper. — in all 8 vol.
- 89 Demosthenis Orationes Selectæ, 1799. Euripidis Medea et Phoenissæ a Piers, 1703
- 90 Demosthenes ab Allen, *russia*, Oxon, 1807.
- 91 Demosthenes, by Leland, 2 vol. *russia*, 1806.
- 92 Dallas's Detection of the Conspiracy against the Jesuits, 1815.
- 93 Dante, Divina Commedia, illustrate di Note dal Zotti, Lond. 1808
- 94 Dictionary of Cant and Flash Language, 1795.
- 95 Edgeworth's Tales of Fashionable Life, 6 vol 1809.
- 96 Patronage, 4 vol. 1814.
- 97 Eugene's Memoirs, 1811. Palmer's Life of Sobieski, 1815. Biographical Peerage, 2 vol. 1808
- 98 Elegant Extracts in Verse, 1805.
- 99 Another Copy, in 2 vol. 1800.
- 100 Edinburgh Review from the commencement, 23 vol.
- 101 Edinburgh Review, 25 various Numbers.
- 102 Edinburgh Annual Register for 1810, 1811, 1812, and 1813. — 7 vol.
- 103 Euripidis Tragoediæ 4 a Porson, *russia*, *Lips.* 1802.
- 104 ——— Troades a Burges, *russia*, Cant. 1807.
- 105 Epictetus, by Carter, 2 vol. 1807.
- 106 Elton's Specimens of the Classic Poets, 3 vol. 1814.
- 107 Euclid's Elements, by Simpson, 1762. Wood's Principles of Mechanics, 1803, 2 vol.
- 108 Flim Flams, 3 vol. *russia* 1805.
- 109 Ford's Dramatic Works, 2 vol. 1811.
- 110 Falconer's Shipwreck, by Clarke, 1804.
- 111 Fernandez's Spanish Grammar, *russia*, 1805.
- 112 Granger's Biographical History of England, and Noble's Continuation, 7 vol. LARGE PAPER, 1804.
- 113 Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, 12 vol. 1807.

- 114 Gisborne's Familiar Survey of Christianity, 1801.
- 115 Gifford's Baviad and Mæviad, 1797 – Poetry of the Anti-Jacobin, 1807.
- 116 Grammont's Memoirs, 3 vol. portraits, 1809.
- 117 ————— 2 vol. portraits, 1811.
- 118 Grant on the Superstitions of the Highlands, 2 vol. 1811. Genlis's Siege of Rochelle, 3 vol. in all 5 vol.
- 119 Grahame's Poems, 2 vol. *russia*, 1811.
- 120 Guy Mannering, 3 vol. 1815.
- 121 Grose's Olio, 1796
- 122 Gifford's Baviad, 1810. Elgin's Pursuits in Greece, 1811.
- 123 Hutton's Battle of Bosworth Field 1813.
- 123* History of the Buccaneers, 2 vol.
- 124 Historic Gallery of Portraits and Paintings, 7 vol. wanting vol. 5. 1807.
- 125 Hooke's Roman History, 11 Vol. 1810.
- 126 Hume's History of England, 8 vol. 1807.
- 127 Homer's Iliad and Odyssey, by Cowper, 4 vol. *Russia*, 1802.
- 128 Hayley's Life of Cowper, 4 vol. *russia*, 1806.
- 129 Hardy's Life of Lord Charlemont, 2 vol. 1812.
- 130 Herodotus, by Beloe, 4 vol. 1806.
- 131 Homeri Ilias, a Clarke, 2 vol. 1760.
- 132 Horatius Gesneri, LARGE PAPER, morocco, 1806.
- 133 Homeri Ilias, Græcè, LARGE PAPER, *Oxon*. 1758.
- 134 Hume's Essays, 2 vol. 1772.
- 135 Hodgson's Lady Jane Grey, 1809. Virgil's Georgics, by Sotheby, 1815. Sotheby's Tragedies, 1814.. 3 Vol.
- 136 Herbert's Helga, 1815. Cunningham's De Rance, 1815. Hobhouse's Poems, and three more
- 137 Jane's Beauties of the Poets, 1800. Tighe's Psyche, 1811. Merivale's Orlando, 1814. 3 vol.

Quarto.

- 138 Ainsworth's Latin Dictionary, 1796.
- 139 Aikin and Enfield's General Biography, 5 vol. 1799, &c.
- 140 Austin on Rhetorical Delivery, *russia*, 1806.
- 141 Broughton's Letters from a Mahratta Camp 1813.
- 142 Blair's Grave, with Blake's Designs, 1808.
- 143 Brown's Travels in Africa, 1807.
- 144 Blomfield's General View of the World, 2 vol. 1804.
- 145 Bonaparte (Lucien) Charlemagne, ou l'Église Delivrée, 2 vol. LARGE PAPER. 1814.
- 146 Bonaparte's Charlemagne, translated by Butler and Hodgson, 2 vol. LARGE PAPER, 1815.
- 147 Black's Life of Tasso, 2 vol. 1810.
- 148 Clarke's Travels, vol. 2 and 3.
- 149 Carr's Stranger in France, 1803.
- 150 Carr's Travels through Denmark, Sweden, &c. 1805.
- 151 Carr's Tour through Scotland, 1809.
- 152 Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, by Tyrwhitt, 2 vol. LARGE PAPER, Oxf. 1798
- 153 Coxe's History of the House of Austria, 3 vol. 1807.
- 154 Coxe's Memoirs of the Bourbon Kings of Spain, 3 vol. 1813.
- 155 ————— of Sir R. Walpole, 3 vol. 1798.
- 156 Culloden Papers, 1815.
- 157 Campbell's Gertrude of Wyoming, 1809. Colman's Poetical Vagaries, 1802, 2 vol.
- 158 Croker's Talavera, 1812. Childe Alarique, 1813. Chevy Chase, 1813, 3 vol.
- 159 Clifford's Tixall Poetry, 1813
- 160 Costume of Turkey, red *morocco*, 1802.
- 161 Decker's Gull's Hornbook, by Nott, 1812.
- 162 Davila, Historia delle Guerre Civili di Francia, 2 Vol. *Lond*. 1755.
- 163 Edinburgh Encyclopædia, 4 vol. and vol. 5 part I.
- 164 Fox's History of James the Second, ELEPHANT PAPER, *russia*, 1808.

- 165 Elphinstone's Account of Caubul, 1815.
- 166 Gibbon's Miscellaneous Works, 3 vol. 1796.
- 167 Galt's Life of Wolsey, LARGE PAPER, 1812.
- 168 Hodgson's Juvenal, 1807.
- 169 Holinshed's Chronicles, 6 vol. 1807.
- 170 Hope's Costume of the Ancients, 2 vol. 1809.
- 171 Hederici Lexicon Græcum, *russia*, 1803.
- 172 Juvenal, by Gifford, 1802.
- 173 Illustrations of Northern Antiquities, 1814.
- 174 Thurston's Illustrations of Lord Byron's Corsair, *on India paper*, 1814.
- 175 Another Copy, *on India paper*, 1814.
- 176 Another Copy, *on India paper*,
- 177 Another Copy, *on India paper*,
- 178 Two Copies, *on India paper*,
- 179 Kinneir's Memoir of a Map of the Persian Empire, *with a map*, 1813.
- 180 Another Copy, *without the map*, 1813.
- 181 Kelsall's Phantasm of an University, 1814. Kelsall's Letters from Athens, 1812.
- 182 Lucretius, by Busby, 2 vol. 1813.
- 183 Langsdorff's Voyages and Travels, 1813.
- 184 Lempriere's Universal Biography, 1808.
- 185 Lavater's Physiognomy, by Hunter, 5 vol. *blue mor.* 1789.
- 185 Malcolm's Manners and Customs of London, during the 18th Century, 1808.
- 186 Macartney's Embassy to China, 2 vol. 1798.
- 187 Maps to Cellarius's Geography,
- 188 Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson, *russia*, 1806.

Folio.

- 189 Biographia Britannica, by Kippis, 5 vol. 1778, &c.
- 190 General Dictionary, Historical and Critical, including, 10 vol. half bound, uncut, 1734.
- 191 Herbelot Bibliothèque Orientale, *Maest.* 1776.
- 192 Meletii Geographia antiqua et moderna, in Lingua Græca, Hodierna, *russia*, Ven.
- 193 Athenæus, Gr. et Lat., Casauboni, *Lugd.* 1657
- 194 Stephani Thesaurus Lingux Græcæ, a Valpy, part the first, 1815.
- 195 Nathan, Collection of Music adapted to Poetry of Lord Byron, *blue morocco*.

SECOND DAY'S SALE.

*The Sale will commence each Day PUNCTUALLY AT
HALF PAST TWELVE.*

Octavo et Infra.

- 196 Brydges's Ruminator, 2 vol. 1813. D'Israeli's Literary Miscellanies, 1801, and 12 more
- 197 Playfair's Political Portraits, 2 vol. 1813. Intercepted Letters, 1814, and nine more.
- 198 History of Pugilism, 1812. Boxiana, 1812. History of Pedestrianism, 1813.
- 199 Gilchrist's Collection of Scottish Ballads, 2 vol. 1815. Burns' Select Scottish Songs, 2 vol. 1810.
- 200 Cottages of Glenburnie, 1810. Florian's Gonsalvo of Cordova, 3 vol. 1792. Carlisle's Poems, 1807. Two-penny Post Bag, and Jacqueline.
- 201 Duclos Mémoires Secrets de Louis xiv. et xv. 2 Vol., and twelve more.
- 202 Hurd's Horace, 2 vol. 1766. Ovid's Metamorphoses, by Garth. Salluste, par Delamelle. 2 vol. Lettres de Ganganelli, 2 vol.
- 203 Hay's History of the Insurrection at Wexford, 1803. Gazetteer of Scotland, and twelve more.
- 204 History of Pedestrianism, 1813. Angelo's School of Fencing, 1787, and nine more.
- 205 Lord Baltimore's Tour. Voltaire's Henriade in English. Opie's Father, and Daughter, and seven more.

- 206 Junius's Letters, 2 vol. *russia*, 1806
- 207 Junius's Letters, by Woodfall, 3 vol. LARGE PAPER 1812.
- 208 Johnson's Dictionary, 4 vol. *russia*, 1805.
- 209 Johnson's Lives of the Poets, 3 vol. *russia*. 1806.
- 210 Juvenal and Persius, by Madan, 2 vol. 1807.
- 211 Juvenal and Persius, Variorum, *L. Bat.* 1664.
- 212 Inchbald's British Theatre, 25 vol. FINE PAPER, 1808.
- 213 Inchbald's Collection of Farces, 7 vol. wanting Vol. 2, FINE PAPER, 1808.
- 214 Kaim's Elements of Criticism, 2 vol. *russia*, 1805.
- 215 Knight on Taste, *russia*, 1808.
- 216 Klopstock, and his Friends, 1814. Bidlake's Year, 1813. Paterson's Legend of Iona, 1614. Lewis's Romantic Tales, 4 vol. in all 7 vol.
- 217 Labaume's Account of the Campaign in Russia, 1815. Rocca's Memoirs of the War in Spain, 2 vol.
- 218 Lebrun's Barons of Felsheim, 3 vol. Lebrun's My Uncle Thomas, 4 vol. 1801, in all 7 vol. in *russia*.
- 219 Locke on the Understanding, 2 vol. *russia*, 1805.
- 220 Lempriere's Classical Dictionary, *russia*, 1801.
- 221 Luciani Opera, 10 Vol. *Bipont*, 1789.
- 222 Lyre of Love, 2 vol. *russia*.
- 223 Letters from the North of Scotland, 2 vol. 1815.
- 224 Lara and Jacqueline, 1814. Little's Poems, 1806. Strangford's Camoens, in all 3 vol.
- 225 Memoirs of Talleyrand, 2 vol. 1805. Biographical anecdotes of the founders of the French Republic, 2 vol. Barré's History of the French Consulate, in all 5 vol.
- 226 Meiner's History of the Female Sex, 4 vols. 1808.
- 227 Miseries of Human Life, 2 vol. plates, *russia*, 1807.
- 228 Montaigne, Essais de, 3 vol. 1802.
- 229 Mrs. More's Coelebs, 2 vol. 1808.
- 230 Memoirs of the Margravine of Bareith, 2 vol. 1812.
- 231 Middleton's Life of Cicero, 3 vol, *russia*, 1804.
- 232 Milton's Prose Works, 7 vol. LARGE PAPER, wants vol. 3. 1806.
- 233 Montaigne's Essays, 3 vol. 1811.
- 234 Mirabeau de la Monarchie Prussienne sous Frédéric le Grand, 7 vol. and Atlas in folio. 1788.
- 235 Mitford's History of Greece, 6 vol. *russia*, 1795.
- 236 Murphy's Life of Garrick, 2 vol. *russia*, 1801.
- 237 Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws, *russia*, 1793.
- 238 Memoirs of Comines, 2 vol. 1723.
- 238* Massinger's Plays by Gifford, 4 vol. 1805.
- 239 Another copy, 4 vol. 1813.
- 239* Machiavelli, Opere di, 13 vol. in *russia*, Milan. 1804.
- 240 Mémoires de Goldoni, 2 vol. Par. 1814.
- 241 Museum Criticum, parts 2,3, 4, and 5.
- 242 Memoirs of Cooke, by Dunlap, 2 vol. 1813.
- 243 Naylor's History of Germany, 3 vol. 1816.
- 244 Nichols's Literary Anecdotes of the 18th Century, 7 vol. 1812.
- 245 Nelson's (Lord) Letters to Lady Hamilton, 1 vol. 1814.
- 246 Novum Testamentum Græcum, *russia*, Oxon. 1805.
- 247 Opie's Simple Tales, 4 vol. Opie's Tales of Real Life, 3 vol. in all 7 vol.
- 248 Ossian's Poems, 3 vol. *russia*, 1803.
- 249 Ossian's Poems, Gaelic and Latin, 3 vol. *russia*, 1807.
- 250 Poets of Great Britain from the time of Chaucer to Sir William Jones. Bagster's edition, bound in 61 vol. *russia*, in a travelling case, 1807.
- 251 Poetry of the Anti-Jacobin, 1807. Hunt's Feast of the Poets, 1814. Poetical Epistles, 1813. Lay of the Scottish Fiddle, 1814, 4 vol.
- 252 Percy's Reliques of Ancient Poetry, 3 vol. 1775.
- 253 Peregrine Pickle, 4 vol. 18mo. FINE PAPER, Roderic Random, 2 vol. in all 6 vol.
- 254 Peter Pindar's Works, 5 vol. 1792.

- 255 Public Characters, 8 vol. *russia*, 1799.
- 256 Pinkerton's Modern Geography, *russia*, 1803.
- 257 Pope's Works by Bowles, 10 vol. 1806.
- 258 Poetical Register, 4 vol. *russia*, and vol. 5 and 6, in boards, 1802.
- 259 Paley's Philosophy, 2 vol. *russia*, 1806.
- 260 Parkes's Chemical Catechism, 1808.
- 261 Pursuits of Literature, 1808.
- 262 Port Royal Greek Grammar, *russia*, 1797.
- 263 Plutarch's Lives by Langhorne, 6 vol. 1809
- 264 Potts's Gazetteer of England, 1810.
- 265 Polybius by Hampton, 3 vol. 1809.
- 266 Porteus's Lectures, 2 vol. 1813
- 267 Paradise of Coquettes, 1814. Hunt's Feast of the Poets, 1814. Pratt's Poems, 1807 – Philosophy of Nature, 2 vol. 1813, 5 vol.
- 268 Petronius Arbiter, Variorum, Amst. 1669. Martialis Opera, Variorum, L.Bat. 1670, 2 vol.
- 269 Quarterly Review, 11 odd numbers.
- 270 Ring and the Well, 4 vol. 188. Magic of Wealth, 4 vol. 1815
- 271 Rogers' Poems, 1812.
- 272 Rogers' Poems, *yellow morocco*, 1812.
- 273 Rousseau's Confessions, 5 vol. 1796.
- 274 Roscoe's Life of Lorenzo de Medici, 3 vol. 1806.
- 275 Rolliad and Probationary Odes, 1799
- 276 Another Copy. 1812.
- 277 Rabelais's Works, 4 vol. LARGE PAPER, 1807.
- 278 Revolutionary Plutarch, 3 vol. 1806. Secret History of the Court of St. Cloud, 3 vol. 1806. Secret History of Bonaparte's Cabinet, 1811, 7 vol.
- 279 Ripperda's Life of Alberoni, 2 vol. Laing's History of Scotland. Roche on the Author of Junius.
- 280 Richardson on Eastern Literature, *russia*, 1778.
- 281 Ritson's Scottish Songs, 2 vol. 1794.
- 282 Shakespeare's Plays, 20 vol. Bell's edition, FINE PAPER 1788.
- 283 Swift's Works, by Scott, 19 vol. 1814.
- 284 Southey's Madoc, 2 vol. 1807, Shakespeare's Poems, 2 vol. 1804, in all 4 vol.
- 285 St. Pierre's Studies of Nature, 3 vol. 1799.
- 286 Scott's Lay of the Last Minstrel, *russia*, 1807.
- 287 Scott's Ballads, *russia*, 1806.
- 288 Scott's Border Minstrelsy, 3 vol. 1802
- 289 Sheridan on Elocution, *russia*, 1798.
- 290 Sévigné, Lettres de, 11 vol. in vol. in *russia*, Par. 1806.
- 291 OEuvres de Saint-Simon, 13 vol. Strasb. 1791.
- 292 Sismondi, de la Littérature du Midi, 4 vol. in *russia*, Par. 1813.
- 293 Sinclair's Code of Health, 4 vol. 1807.
- 294 Another Copy, 4 vol. 1807.
- 295 Smither's Poems, *Russia*, 1807.
- 296 Stephens' Life of Horne Tooke, 2 vol. 1813.
- 297 Stewart's Philosophy of the Human Mind, *Russia*.
- 298 Stewart's Outlines of Moral Philosophy, *Russia*.
- 299 Spalding's History of the Troubles in Scotland, 2 Vol 1792.
- 300 Ségur's History of Frédéric II. 3 Vol. Ségur on Women, 2 vol. Rival Roses, 2 vol. in all 7 vol.
- 301 Thiebault's Anecdotes of Frederic the Second, 2 Vol. 1805. Correspondence of Grimm and Diderot, 2 vol. 1814, in all 4 vol.
- 302 Turnbull's Voyage round the World, 3 vol. *russia*, 1805.
- 303 Tasso's Jerusalem, by Hoole, 2 vol. *russia*, 1803.
- 304 Tom Jones, 3 vol. Cooke's edition, fine paper.
- 305 Taylor's Travels to India, 2 vol. 1799. Galt's Letters from the Levant, 1813.
- 306 Tyers' Tracts, History of Pedestrianism, and six more.
- 307 Tacitus, by Murphy, 8 vol. 1807.
- 308 Tales of the East, 3 vol. 1812.

- 309 Tasso, Gerusalemme Liberata, 2 vol. *mor. Lond.*
- 310 Tasso, Gerusalemme Liberata, 2 vol. Par. 1776. Tasso, Gerusalemme Liberata, 3 vol. 1813. Dante, 3 vol. 1808.
- 311 Tasso, Gerusalemme Liberata, 2 vol. Par. 1785. Petrarca, Ven. 1800. Dante, 3 vol. Par. 1787
- 312 Vathek, par Beckford, 1815.
- 313 Voltaire's Works, by Francklin, Smollett, &c. 35 Vol. 1778.
- 314 Vigerus de Idiotismis Græcis, *russia, Lips.* 1802.
- 315 Van-Ess's life of Bonaparte, 6 vol. 1808.
- 316 Williams's (Miss) Narrative of the late Events in France. 1815.
- 317 Watson's Apology for the Bible and for Christianity, 2 vol.
- 318 Wordsworth's Lyrical Ballads, 2 vol. *russia*. Wordsworth's Poems, 2 vol. *russia*, 1807.
- 319 Walsingham, by Mrs. Robinson, 4 vol. *russia*, 1805.
- 320 Warton on the Genius of Pope, 2 vol. 1806.
- 321 Wanley's Wonders of the Little World, 2 vol. 1806.
- 322 Wraxall's Memoirs of his Own Time, 2 vol. 1815.
- 323 Wakefield's Correspondence with Fox, 1813.
- 324 Kirke White's Remains, 2 vol. Dutens Memoirs, 5 Vol. Goldoni's Memoirs, 2 vol. in all 9 vol.
- 325 Zimmermann's Reflections Seward's Memoirs of Darwin, and Sturm's Reflections, in all 4 Vol.
- 326 Erskine on the War, Duppa on Junius. Duppa's Memoirs of a Political and Literary Character, in all 3 vol.

Quarto.

- 327 Malcolm's History of Persia, 2 vol. *russia*, 1815.
- 328 Macdiarmid's Lives of British Statesman, *russia*, 1807.
- 329 Moore's Poems, *russia*, 1806.
- 330 Lord Orford's Works, 5 vol. green morocco, 1798.
- 331 Park's Travels in Africa, vol. 2, 1815.
- 332 Plates to illustrate Lord Byron's Poems, LARGE PAPER, proof impressions.
- 333 Painter's Palace of Pleasure, 3 vol. 1813.
- 334 Potter's Travels in Russia and Sweden, 2 vol. 1809.
- 335 Playfair's British Family Antiquity, illustrating the Histories of the Noble Families of the United Kingdom, with chronological Charts, 5 vol. 1809.
- 336 Petrarca, con le Osservazioni di Muratori, Modena, 1811.
- 337 Pauli (Demetrii) Lexicon Tripartitum Linguæ Græcæ: Hodiernæ:, Italicæ et Gallicæ, 3 vol. *russia*, Vien. 1790.
- 338 Roscoe's Life of Leo the 10th, 4 vol. 1805.
- 339 Sonnini's Travels in Egypt, 1800.
- 340 Scott's Marmion, 1808.
- 341 Another Copy, 1808.
- 342 Southey's Roderick, 1814.
- 343 Stewart's Philosophical Essays, *russia*, 1810
- 344 ———— Philosophy of the Human Mind, vol. 2. 1814.
- 345 Stewart's History of Bengal, 1813.
- 346 Sotheby's Saul, 1807. Galt's Tragedies, 1812, 2 vol.
- 347 Stark's Medical Works, 1788.
- 348 Smith's General Atlas, 1808.
- 349 Sophocles a Brunck, 2 vol. *russia, Argent.* 1786.
- 350 Sallust's Works, by Stewart, 2 vol, 1806.
- 351 Turner's History of England, vol. 1. 1814.
- 352 Tweddell's Remains 1815.
- 353 Townsend's Armageddon, 1815. The Trident, 1802.
- 354 Von Buch's Travels through Norway and Lapland, 1813.
- 355 Thornton's Sporting Tour through England, *russia*, 1804.
- 356 Veniere, Compendio di Grammatica in Dialecto Greco Volgare, con la traduzione, *russia, Triest.* 1799.
- 357 Varchi, l'Ercolano, Fir. 1730.

- 358 Virgilius Heynii, 8 vol. LARGE PAPER, *red mor. Lond.* 1793.
 359 Virgil's Æneid, by Beresford, *russia*, 1794.
 359* Ulachi Thesaurus Encyclopædicæ Basis Quadri linguis, *Ven.* 1659.
 360 Woodhouslee's Life of Lord Kames, 2 vol. *russia*, 1807.
 361 Wordsworth's Excursion, a poem, 1814.
 362 White Doe of Rylstone, 1815.
 363 Thurston's Illustrations of Lord Byron's Corsair, *on India paper*, 1814.
 364 Another Copy, *on India paper*, 1814.
 365 Another Copy, *on India paper*, 1814
 366 Another Copy, *on India paper*, 1814.
 367 Three Copies, *on India paper*, 1814.
 368 Two Copies, *on India paper*, 1814

Folio.

- 369 Thomson's Collection of Original Scottish Airs, 4 vol. in 2. Violincello Accompaniment, and Violin Accompaniment.
 370 Thomson's Collection of Original Welch airs, 2 vol. and Violin and Violincello Accompaniment.
 371 Tindal's Continuation of Rapin, 2 vol. 1751.
 372 Grimestone's Historie of the Netherlands, 1609.
 373 Moreri, Dictionnaire Historique, 10 vol. *Par.* 1759 .
 374 The *Large Plates to Boydell's Shakspeare*, engraved by the first Artists, VERY BEAUTIFUL PROOF IMPRESSIONS, *bound in red morocco*.
 375 Portrait of the Rev. Dr. Parr, engraved by Turner after Hall. *Proof Impression, in a gilt frame*
 376 Portrait of Bonaparte, engraved by Morghen, *very fine impression, in a gilt frame*.
 377 Portrait of Machiavel, engraved by Cipriani, *in a gilt frame*.
 378 Portrait of Campbell (Author of the Pleasures of Hope,) after Laurence, *in a gilt frame*.
 379 Portrait of Kean, in Richard III., engraved by Turner.
 380 Portrait of the Right Hon. W. Pitt, from the Statue by Nollekens, engraved by Heath. *Proof impression*.
 381 Portrait of Jackson, the Pugilist, a Crayon Drawing, *in a gilt frame*.
 382 A Screen ["Skreen"] six feet high, covered with NUMEROUS PORTRAITS OF ACTORS, Scene Prints, Portraits of Pugilists, and Representations of Boxing Matches, &c.
 383 A Silver Cup and Cover, elegantly chased. The weight is 29 oz, 8dwts

Appendix Four: 1827 Sale Catalogue

1827 SALE
(cover):
CATALOGUE
OF THE
LIBRARY
OF
THE LATE LORD BYRON,
[inked: nos. 1-233]
TO WHICH IS ADDED
THE LIBRARY OF A GENTLEMAN,
DECEASED.
WHICH WILL BE
SOLD BY AUCTION,
BY MR. EVANS,
AT HIS HOUSE, No. 93, PALL MALL,
On Friday, July 6, and Two following days, (Sunday excepted.)
1827.

FIRST DAY'S SALE.

[Number 1 to 233 inclusive are the Property of Lord Byron.]

Octavo et Infra.

[The Sale will commence at HALF PAST TWELVE.]

- 1 Aucher, Dictionnaire Arménien et François, 2 vol. 1812.
- 2 Adamson's Life of Camoens, 2 vol. 1820.
- 3 Aristophanes by Mitchell, vol. 2, 1822.
- 4 Achilles Tatius, Amours de Leucippe et de Clitophon, 2 vol. *Par.* 1797. Chariton, Amours de Chérchas et Callirrhoé, 2 vol. *Par.* 1797. Heliodore, Amours de Theagènes et Chariclée, 2 vol. 1796. Eustathe, Amours d'Ismene et d'Ismenias, 1796. Longus, Amours de Daphnis et Chloe, 1797. Lucian, l'Asne, 1797. Prodrômus, Amours de Rhodante, 1797. Parthenius, Affections d'Amour 1797. Xenophon, Abrocome et Anthia, 1797, 12 vol. 5 Atherstone's Last Days of Herculaneum, *Presentation copy to Lord Byron.* 1821.
- 6 Anecdotes de la Cour de France pendant la faveur de la Marquise de Pompadour, *Par.* 1802.
- 7 Lord Aberdeen's Principles of Beauty in Grecian Architecture, 1822.
- 8 Anacreon, Gr. et Lat. with the Autograph of Percy Bysshe Shelley, *Glasg.* 1783.
- 9 Aulus Gellius, *Aldus*, 1515.
- 10 Anquetil, Ésprit de la Ligue, 3 vol. *Par.* 1808.
- 11 Antar, a Bedoueen Romance by Hamilton, 4 vol. 1819.
- 12 Aristophanes by Mitchell, vol. 2, 1822.
- 13 Bayle, Dictionnaire Historique et Critique, vol. 1 to 12. *Par.* 1820.
- 14 Another copy, vol. 1 to 11, *ib.* 1820.
- 15 Biographie des Hommes Vivants, 5 vol. vol. 1 imperfect, *Par.* 1816.
- 16 Bassompierre's Embassy to England, with Notes, 1819.
- 17 The Banquet, 1819. The Dessert, 1819, 2 vol.
- 18 Butler's Reminiscences, 1822.
- 19 History of the English Catholics, vol. 3 and 4, *Presentation copy*, 1821.
- 20 Beyle, Histoire de la Peinture en Italie, 2 vol. *Par.* 1817.
- 21 Birbeck's Notes of a Journey in America, 1818. Birbeck's Letters from Illinois, 1818. 2 vol.
- 22 L. Bonaparte, Documents Historiques sur la Hollande, 3 vol. *Lond.* 1820.
- 23 Beloe's Sexagenarian, 2 vol. 1817.
- 24 Baillie's Metrical Legends, 1821.
- 25 Lord Byron's Werner, 1823,

- 26 Lord Byron to Bowles on Pope, 1821. *Antologia*, No 2, 5, and 16. Brooke's Retrospection, 1822.
- 27 Byron, *OEuvres Complètes*, vol. 2, 4, and 6, *Par.* 1821
- 28 Barrow's History of Voyages to the Arctic Regions, 1818.
- 29 *Bibliotheca Pisanorum Veneta*, 2 vol. stained, *Ven.* 1807.
- 30 Baldi, Vita di Guidobaldo Duca d'Urbino, 2 vol. *Mil.* 1821.
- 31 Beauties of English Poetry, *Paris*, 1818.
- 32 *Bibliothèque Universelle* pour Jan. Fev. et Mars, 1819, *Gen.* 1819.
- 33 Bottani, Storia della Citta de Caorle, *Ven.* 1811.
- 34 Beaumarchais, *OEuvres choisies*, 4 vol. *Par.* 1818. *Mémoires de Bussy Rabutin*, 4 vol. *Par.* 1696.
- 35 Cramer on Hannibal's Passage over the Alps, 1820.
- 36 Cottin, Malvina, 3 vol. Amelie Mansfield, 3 vol. Claire d'Albe. Mathilde, vol. 3 and 4, in all 9 vol.
- 37 Casti's Court of Beasts, 1819. Croly's Angel of the World, 1820. Croly on the Death of the Princess Charlotte, 1818. Chafin's Anecdotes of Cranbourn Chase, 1818.
- 38 Coxe, *Histoire de la Maison d'Autriche*, 5 vol. *Par.* 1810.
- 39 Crébillon le fils, *OEuvres*, 7 vol. 1779.
- 40 Campbell's Specimens of the British Poets, 7 vol. 1819.
- 41 Crabbe's Tales of the Hall, 2 vol. 1819.
- 42 Curran's Life of Curran, 2 vol. 1819.
- 43 Castéra, *Histoire de Catherine II.* 4 vol. *Par.* 1809.
- 44 Barry Cornwall's Flood of Thessaly, 1823. Barry Cornwall's Dramatic Scenery, 1819.
- 45 Cobbett's Year's Residence in America, 3 vol. 1819.
- 46 Chaboulon, *Mémoires de Napoleon*, 2 vol. *Lond* 1819.
- 47 Chénier, *Poésies Diverses*, *Par.* 1818. Pigault Le Brun, le Beau-Père et le Gendre, 2 vol. 1822.
- 48 Coleridge's *Biographia Literaria*, 2 vol. with *Lord Byron's Autograph*, 1817.
- 49 Catullus by Lamb, 2 vol. 1821.
- 50 *Consciences Littéraires d'à-present*, *Par.* 1818.
- 51 Criminal Trials, illustrative of the Heart of Mid Lothian, 1818.
- 52 Diedo, Storia di Venezia, 15 vol. in 7, *Ven.* 1792.
- 53 Diodoro Siculo, volgarizzato di Compagnoni, 7 vol. *Milan*, 1820.
- 54 D'Épinay, *Mémoires et Correspondance*, 3 vol. *Par.* 1818.
- 55 Dallas's Poems, 1819.
- 56 D'Israeli on the Literary Character, 1818.
- 57 De Bosset's Proceedings in Parga and the Ionian Islands, 1819.
- 58 Davies's Life of Garrick, 2 vol. 1808.
- 59 Daru, *Histoire Venise*, 7 vol. *Par.* 1819.
- 60 D'Israeli's Curiosities of Literature, vol. 3, 1817.
- 61 Du Cygne, *Fons Eloquentiæ*, *Ven.* 1713. Benzoni Nella, Poema, *Ven.* 1820. Buxton on Prison Discipline, 1818. Erskine du Christianisme, *Par.* 1822, 4 vol.
- 62 Erodoto, da Mustoxidi, vol. 1, *Mil.* 1820,
- 63 Edgeworth's Memoirs of Lovel Edgeworth, 2 vol. 1820.
- 64 ————— Harrington and Ormond, vol. 2 and 3, with *Lord Byron's Autograph*, 1817.
- 65 Frédéric Roi de Prusse, *Oeuvres*, 13 vol. wanting vol. 2 and 3, 1789.
- 66 Firenzuola, *Opere*, 6 vol. *Pisa*, 1816.
- 67 Fearon's Sketches of America, 1818. Cause e Effetti della Confederazione Renana, 2 vol. Vol. I a little stained, *Ital.* 1819.
- 68 Fouqué's Sintram, 1820. Undine, by Soane, 1818.
- 70 Faber on the Mysteries of the Cabiri, 2 vol. 1803.
- 71 Fortiguerra's Ricciardetto, First Canto, by Lord Glenbervie, 1822.
- 72 Franceschinis, Morte di Socrate, *Ven.* 1820.
- 73 Foscolo, Ricciarda, Tragedia, *Lond.* 1820.
- 74 Franceschinis, Morte di Socrati, *Ven.* 1820.
- 75 Giuseppe tradotto dall' Angiolini, 7 vol. *Milan*, 1821.
- 76 Galiffe's Italy and its Inhabitants, 2 vol. 1820. 77 Gibbon's Life and Miscellaneous Works, 7 vol. *Basil.* 1796.

- 78 Greek Tragic Theatre, 7 vol. *Lond.* Lord Byron has occasionally pencilled some of the most striking passages. 1779.
- 79 (there is no 79)
- 80 Ginguené, Histoire Littéraire d'Italie, 9 vol. *Par.* 1811.
- 81 Another copy, vol. 7, 8, and 9, *Par.* 1819.
- 82 Geoffroy, Cours de Littérature Dramatique, 5 vol *Par.* 1819.
- 83 Georgel, Mémoires de la fin du xviii siècle, 6 vol. *Par.* 1817.
- 84 Galiani, Correspondance Inédite, 2 vol. *Par.* 1818.
- 85 Grimm, Correspondance Littéraire, 16 vol. *Par.* 1813.
- 86 Godwin's Mandeville, 3 vol. 1817.
- 87 Gleanings in Buenos Ayres, 1818. Guigou, Topographie de Livourne, *Liv.* 1814. Galignani's Magazine, 3 odd numbers.
- 88 Galt's Annals of the Parish, 1821. Vie Polémique de Voltaire, 1802. Fontaine, Contes, 2 vol. *Par.* 1813.
- 89 Gourgaud, Campagne de 1815, *Lond.* 1818. Letters from St. Helena, 1818
- 90 Giannotti, Opere, 3 vol. *Pisa.* 1819.
- 91 Guidi, Poésie, 1726. Mayeux, Sept Journées, 2 vol. 1818. Jeunesse de Florian, 1812.
- 92 Hackett's Narrative of the Expedition to South America, 1818. *Dono all' Amicizia, presentation to Lord Byron, Vicenz.* 1817.
- 93 Holland's Life of Lope de Vega, 2 vol. *presentation copy*, 1817
- 94 Holcroft's Memoirs, 3 vol. 1816.
- 95 Lady Hervey's Letters, 1821.
- 96 Haslam on Madness and Melancholy, 1809.
- 97 Hogg's Brownie of Bodsbeck, 2 vol. 1818.
- 98 Hodgson's Friends, a Poem, 1818. Hoare's Hints to Travellers in Italy, 1815.
- 99 Hazlitt's Lectures on the English Poets, 1818.
- 100 Sir B. Hobhouse's Travels in France, Italy, &c. 1796
- 101 Hobhouse's Last Reign of Napoleon, 2 vol. 1817.
- 103 Histoire de la Nouvelle Russie, 3 vol. *Par.* 1820.
- 104 Histoire du Prince Eugene, 5 vol. *Vien.* 1790.
- 105 ——— de Pierre III, de Russie, 2 vol. *Par.* 1799.
- 106 Karamsin, Istoria di Russia, 6 vol. *Ven.* 1820.
- 107 King's Anecdotes of his Own Times, 1818.
- 108 Keate's Account of the Pellew Islands, Basil, 1789.
- 109 Keats' Endymion, 1818. Keats' Poems, 1817.
- 110 Luchet, Histoire Littéraire de Voltaire, 6 Vol. *Cassel.* 1780.
- 111 Laugier, Istoria di Venezia, 12 vol. *Ven.* 1778.
- 112 ——— vol. 3 to 12, 1778.
- 113 Pigault Le Brun, Jerome, 4 vol. 1818. Adelaide de Méran, 4 Vol. 1820. La Famille Luceval, 4 vol. 1819. Enfant du Carnaval, 3 vol. 1818. Folie Espagnole, 4 vol. 1820.
- 114 Pigault Le Brun, l'Officieux, 2 vol. 1819. Garçon Sans Souci, 2 vol. 1818. L'Egoïsme, 2 vol, 1829. Mélanges, 2 vol. 1816. Angelique et Janneton, 2 Vol. 114* Hunt's Foliage.
- 115 Pigault Le Brun, Une Macedoine, 4 vol. Tableaux de Société, 4 vol. 1811 Cent Vingt Jours, 4 vol. Monsieur Martin, 2 vol.
- 116 ——— l'Officieux, 2 vol. 1819. Le Citateur, 2 vol. 1811. L'Homme a Projets, 4 vol. 1819. Theatre, 6 Vol. 1818.
- 117 ——— Monsieur de Robeville, 4 vol. 1818, and 4 more. **Bossange 3s**
- 118 Leake's Topography of Athens, 1821.
- 119 La Harpe, OEuvres Posthumes, 4 vol. 1816. Annuaire Historique Universel, 1820. Lucien, par D'Ablancourt, 2 vol. in 1, 1697.
- 120 Le Sage, Histoire de Gil Blas, 4 vol. *Par.* 1818.
- 121 Luciano, Opere, tradotte da Manzi, 3 vol. *Losan.* 1819.
- 122 Lamb's Works, 2 vol. 1818. Luttrell's Letters to Julia, 1822. Lake's Poems, 1823.
- 123 Lyndsay's Dramas of the Ancient World, 1822.
- 124 Las Casas's Memoirs, 1818. Letters from the Cape of Good Hope, 1817. Manuscript de l'Isle de l'Elbe, 1818, 3 vol.
- 125 Levati, Viaggi di Petrarca in Francia, Germania ed in Italia, 5 vol. *Milan.* 1820.
- 126 Mémoires du Duc de Richlieu, 9 vol. *Par.* 1790.
- 127 Morellet, Mélanges de Littérature, 4 vol.: vol. 1 slightly damaged by a nail, *Par.*

- 1818.
- 128 Le Mercier, Cours Analytique de Littérature, 4 Vol. *Par.* 1817.
- 129 Montbron sur la Littérature des Hebreux, 3 vol. in 4, *Par.* 1819.
- 130 Middleton's Life of Cicero, 3 vol. 1755.
- 131 Matthix's Greek Grammar, 2 vol. 1818
- 132 Marc Aurele ou Histoire Philosophique de Marc Antonin, 4 vol. and Atlas in 4to. *Par.* 1820.
- 133 Morgan's France, 2 vol. 1818.
- 134 ——— Florence Macarthy, 4 vol. 1818.
- 135 Matthews's Diary of an Invalid, 1820.
- 136 M'Leod's Voyage to Lewchew, 1818
- 137 Mirabeau, Discours et Opinions, par Barthe, 3 Vol. *Par.* 1820.
- 138 Murray's History of Discoveries in Africa, 2 vol. 1817.
- 139 Mosca, Geografia Moderna, 2 vol. *Bol.* 1819.
- 140 Mémoires de Retz et de Joli, 6 vol. *Gen.* 1777.
- 141 Marmontel, Mémoires, 4 vol. *Par.* 1807. Marmontel, Nouveaux Contes Moraux, 5 vol. 1801.
- 142 Melincourt, 3 vol. 1817. Montgomery's Greenland, 1819. Polidori's Ernestus Berchtold, 1819. Mirabeau, Lettres a Sophie, 4 vol. 1818.
- 143 Lady Montague, OEuvres, 4 vol. *Par.* 1804. Wraxall, Mémoires Historique, 2 vol. 1817. Cobbett, Maitre Anglais, 1815.
- 144 Mathias, Poesie Liriche Toscane, *presentation copy, Napol.* 1818.
- 145 Morelli, Operette, 3 vol. *Ven.* 1820.
- 146 Molina, Memorie di Storia Naturale, 2 vol. *Bol.* 1821. Critique des Mémoires de Bonneval, 1738.
- 147 Mémoires de Napoleon, livre 9, 1820. O'Meara, Napoleon en Exil, 2 vol. *Par.* 1822. Manuscrit venu de St. Helene, 1817. Macirone's Facts relating to Murat, 1817.
- 148 Nodier, Mélanges de Littérature, 2 vol. 1820. Odeleben, Campagne de 1813 en Saxe, 2 vol. 1817.
- 149 Omero, Iliade, da Monti, 2 vol. *Milan.* 1820.
- 150 Ossian, Nuovi Canti, da Leoni, 3 vol. *with Lord Byron's Autograph, Ven.* 1818.
- 151 Osservatore Fiorentino sugli Edifizi della sua Patria, 8 vol. in 4, *Firenz.* 1821.
- 152 Onguant pour la brulure. Col. (*Elz.*) 1669. Boussole des Amans, (*Elz.*) 1668, and other tracts in the volume.
- 153 Pope's Works, by Warton, 9 vol. *Basil.* 1803.
- 154 Pitaval, Cause Celebri ed Interessanti con le Sentenze che le hanno decise, 20 vol. *Par.* 1757. Processo contro li Gesuiti, *Par.* 1760.
- 155 Plumtre's Letters from the Continent, 1799.
- 156 Priestley's Memoirs, 1805.
- 157 Philostratus's Life of Apollonius of Tyana, 1809.
- 158 Poetic Mirror, *with Lord Byron's autograph*, 1816.
- 159 Petronius Arbiter, Variorum, 1669.
- 160 Pindaro, Odi, tradotte ed illustrate da Mezzanotte, 2 vol. *Pisa*, 1819.
- 161 Prevost, Memoires d'un Homme de Qualité, 3 vol. 1808. Voltaire, Romans, 3 vol. *Par.* 1800.
- 162 Regnard, OEuvres, avec des remarques par Garnier, 6 vol. *Par.* 1810.
- 163 Rousselin, Vie du General Hoche, 2 vol. *Par.* 1798.
- 164 Ramsay, Histoire de la Révolution d'Amerique, 2 vol. *Par.* 1787.
- 165 Ricci, l'Italiade, Poema, *Livorn.* 1819.
- 166 Histoire de la Vie et des Ouvrages de Rousseau, 2 vol. *Par.* 1821.
- 167 Rousseau, la Nouvelle Heloise, 3 vol. 1792. Rousseau, Confessions, 6 vol. 1782.
- 168 Rakitsch, il Dialoghista Illirico-Italiano, *Ven.* 1810.
- 169 Ramsay's Travels of Cyrus, *Par.* 1814. Rhododaphne, a Poem, 1818.
- 170 Southey's Life of Wesley, 2 vol. 1820.
- 171 Sterne's Tristram Shandy, 2 vol. *Basil.* 1803.
- 172 Stendhal, Rome, Naples et Florence, en 1817, *Par.* 1817.
- 173 Schlegel's Lectures on the History of Literature, 2 Vol. 1818,
- 174 Spence's Anecdotes, by Malone, 1820.
- 175 Senofonte, la Cyropedia, da Regis, 2 Vol. *Milan*, 1821. Senofonte, Storie Greche, da Gandini, *Mil.* 1821.

- 176 Saabye's Greenland, 1818. Sketch of the Military Power of Russia, 1817, 2 vol.
- 177 Bysshe Shelley's Prometheus Unbound, 1820.
- 178 Another copy, 1820.
- 179 Sismondi, Storia dei Francesi, vol. I, *Milan*, 1822. Sartorius dei Popoli d'Italia sotto li Gotti, 1820. Saggio di Estetica, stained, 1822. Schiller, il Visionario, 1819.
- 180 Sir W. Scott's Halidon Hill, *presentation copy, with an inscription on the fly-leaf*, 1822
- 181 Smith's Philosophical Essays, *Basil*, 1799. Vigors on Poetic Licence, 1813.
- 182 Senecæ Tragoediæ, 1589. Theodosii et Valentini ani 3 Novellæ Leges, 1766.
- 183 Taciti Opera, notis Variorum, 2 vol. *Elzev.* 1672.
- 184 Tooke's View of the Russian Empire, 3 vol. 1799.
- 185 Tasso's Jerusalem, by Fairfax, vol. 2, 1818. Hogg's Winter Evening Tales, vol. 2, 1820
- 186 Vestriad, 1819. Unknown of the Pyrenees, 1817. Vasselier, Contes Gais et Badins, 1819, 3 vol.
- 187 Urquhart's Commentaries on Classical Learning, 1803,
- 188 Vasi, Itinéraire Instructif de Rome, 2 vol. *cuts*, Rome 1816.
- 189 Vie de Voltaire, 1789. Varillas Anecdotes de Florence, 2 vol. 1787.
- 190 Wraxall's Memoirs of his Own Time, 3 vol. 1818.
- 191 Sir G. Hanbury Williams's Works, 3 vol. 1822.
- 192 Wieland, Aristippe et ses Contemporains, 7 vol. Paris 1805.
- 193 Women, or pour et contre, 3 vol. 1818. Whistlecraft's Poem, Cantos 1 and 2, 1818, and 2 copies of Cantos 3 and 4.
- 194 Warton on Pope, 2 vol. much damaged, 1762, Warden's Letters respecting Bonaparte, 1816.
- 195 Wishart's Memoirs of the Marquis of Montrose, 1819.
- 196 Lot of Odd Volumes.
- 197 ——— Odd Volumes.

Quarto

- 198 Biblia Sacra Armena, *with Lord Byron's autograph*, 1805.
- 199 Belzoni's Travels in Egypt and Nubia, with the Appendix, 1820.
- 200 Burckhardt's Travels in Nubia, 1819.
- 201 ——— Travels in Syria and the Holy Land, 1822.
- 202 Bowdich's Mission to Ashantee, 1819.
- 203 Baruffaldi, Vita di Ariosto, *Ferrar*, 1807.
- 204 Bell's Account of the Huntingdon Peerage, 1820.
- 205 Bertolonii Amoenitates Italicæ, opuscula de Re Herbaria, *Bonon.* 1819.
- 206 Berry's Life of Lady Rachel Russell, 1819.
- 207 Comment on Dante, vol. 2, *London, (Italy)*, 1822.
- 208 Clarke's Travels. Part the Third, Section the First, Scandinavia, 1819.
- 209 Coxe's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, 3 vol. 1818.
- 210 Ciakciak, Dizionario Italiano-Armeno-Turco
- 211 Foscari, Discorso, *Ven.* 1819.
- 212 Fitzclarence's journey from India to England, 1819.
- 213 Hume's Correspondence, 1820.
- 214 Hardy's Life of Lord Charlemont, 1810.
- 215 Hope's Costume of the Ancients, 2 vol. 1812.
- 216 Johnstone's History of the Rebellion of 1745, 1820.
- 217 Lockhart Papers, 2 vol. 1817.
- 218 Macmichael's journey from Moscow to Constantinople, 1819.
- 219 Lord Orford's Memoirs of the last 10 years of George the Second, 2 vol. 1822
- 220 Pulci, Morgante Maggiore, *Firenz.* 1732.
- 221 Parry's Voyage to Discover a North West Passage, 1821.
- 222 Rogers's Human Life, a Poem, 1819.
- 223 Sotheby's Farewell to Italy, 1818. Fitzpatrick's Lines Written at Amphill Park, 1819.
- 224 Suetonii Opera, notis Pitisci, 2 vol. *Leov.* 1714
- 225 Sanazarri Poemata, *ap. Cominum*, 1731.
- 226 Watson Taylor's Profligate, a Comedy, PRIVATELY PRINTED, *Presentation copy, very scarce*, 1820.
- 227 Vite e Ritratti de Illustri Italiani, 2 vol. *Numerous portraits, Pad.* 1812.

- 228 Valperga in Horatii Epistolam de Morte Mæcenatis, *Aug. Taur.* 1812, and 4 more.
229 Waldegrave's Memoirs, *portraits*, 1821.
230 Walpole's Travels in various Countries of the East, 1820.
231 Watt's Bibliotheca Britannica, Part I and 2, 1819.
231* Sandi, Storia di Venezia, 9 vol. *Ven.* 1755.

Folio.

- 232 Horatii Opera, cum Quatuor Commentariis, stained, *cuts*, *Ven.* 1509.
233 Moreri, Dictionnaire Historique, 8 vol. *Amst.* 1740.

Appendix Five: Epistle of the Corinthians to St Paul the Apostle

Translated by Lord Byron²

1. Stephen, and the Elders with him, Dabnus, Eublus, Theophilus and Xinon to Paul our Father and Evangelist and faithful Master in Jesus Christ, Health
2. Two men have come to Corinth, Simon by name and Clebus, who vehemently disturb the faith of some with deceitful and corrupt words;
3. of which words thou shoud'st inform thyself:
4. for neither have we heard such words from thee, nor from the other apostles:
5. but we know only that what we have heard from thee and from them, we have kept firmly.
6. But in this chiefly has our Lord had compassion, that, whilst Thou art yet with us in the flesh, we are again about to hear from thee.
7. Therefore do thou write to us, or come thyself amongst us quickly:
8. we believe in the Lord, that, as it was revealed to Theonas, he hath delivered thee from the hands of the unrighteous.
9. But these are the sinful words of these impure men, for thus do They say and teach,
10. that it behoves not to admit the Prophets:
11. neither do they affirm the omnipotence of God,
12. neither do they affirm the resurrection of the flesh:
13. neither do they affirm that man was altogether created by God:
14. neither do they affirm that Jesus Christ was born in the flesh from the Virgin Mary:
15. neither do they affirm that the world was the work of God, but some one of the Angels.
16. Therefore do thou make haste to come amongst us:
17. that this city of the Corinthians may remain without scandal:
18. and that the folly of these men may be made manifest by an open refutation; Fare thee well.
19. The Deacons Thereptus and Tichus received and conveyed the epistle to the City of the Phillipians. When Paul received the epistle, although he was then in chains on account of Statonice the wife of Apofolanus, yet as it were forgetting his bonds, he mourned over these words, and said weeping:- It were better for me to be dead, and with the Lord. For while I am in this body, and hear the wretched words of such false doctrine; behold, grief arises upon grief, and this trouble adds weight to my chains, when I behold this calamity, and progress of the machinations of Satan, who searcheth to do wrong. – And thus with deep afflictions Paul composed his reply to the epistle.

² Taken from P. Aucher, *Grammar Armenian and English*, (Venice: Armenian Academy, 1819) pp.176-197.

Appendix Six: Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians

(Also known as 3 Corinthians), translated by Lord Byron.³

1. Paul in bonds for Jesus Christ, disturbed by so many errors, to his Corinthian brethren Health.
2. I nothing marvel that the preachers of evil have made this progress.
3. For because the Lord Jesus is about to fulfil his coming, verily on this account do certain men pervert and despise his words.
4. But I verily, from the beginning have taught you that only which I myself have received from the former Apostles, who always remained with the Lord Jesus Christ.
5. And I now say unto you that the Lord Jesus Christ was born of the Virgin Mary, who was of the seen of David,
6. according to the annunciation of the Holy Ghost, sent to her by our Father from heaven
7. that Jesus might be introduced in the world, and deliver our flesh by his flesh, and that he might raise us from the dead; as
8. in this also he might himself become the example.
9. That is might be made manifest that man was created by the Father,
10. he has not remained in perdition unsought,
11. but he is sought for, that he might be revived by adoption.
12. For God who is the Lord of all, the father of our Lord Jesus Christ; who made heaven and earth, sent first the Prophets to the Jews:
13. that he would absolve them from their sins, and bring them to his justice.
14. Because he wished to save first the house of Israel, he bestowed and poured forth his Spirit upon the Prophets;
15. that they should for a long time preach the worship of God, and the Nativity of Christ.
16. But he who was Prince of evil, when he wished to make himself God, laid his hand upon them,
17. and bound all men in sin.
18. Because the judgement of the world was approaching.
19. But almighty God, whom he willed to justify, was unwilling to abandon his creature;
20. but when he saw his affliction, he had compassion upon him: and
21. at the end of the time he sent the Holy Ghost into the Virgin foretold by the Prophets.
22. Who believing readily, was made worthy to conceive, and bring forth our Lord Jesus Christ.
23. That from this perishable body in which the evil Spirit was glorified, he should be reproved, and manifested,
24. that he was not God. For Jesus Christ in his flesh had recalled and saved this perishable flesh, and drawn it into eternal life by faith.
25. Because in his body he should prepare a pure temple of justice for all ages;

³ Taken from P. Aucher, *Grammar Armenian and English*, (Venice: Armenian Academy, 1819) pp.176-197.

26. in whom we also when we believe are saved.
 27. Therefore know ye that these men are not the children of justice, but the children of wrath:
 28. who turn away from themselves the compassion of God,
 29. who say that neither the heavens nor the earth were altogether works made by the hand of the Father of all things.
 30. But these cursed men have the doctrine of the Serpent.
 31. But do ye by the power of God withdraw yourselves far from these, and expel from amongst you the doctrine of the wicked.
 32. Because you are not the children of disobedience but the sons of the beloved Church.
 33. And on this account the time of the resurrection is preached to all men.
 34. Therefore they who affirm that there is no resurrection of the flesh, they indeed shall not be raised up to eternal life,
 35. but to judgement and condemnation shall the unbeliever arise in the flesh:
 36. For the body which denies the resurrection of the body, shall be denied the resurrection, because such are found to refuse the resurrection.
 37. But you also, Corinthians! have known from the seeds of wheat, and from other seeds;
 38. that one grain falls dry into the earth, and within it first dies;
 39. and afterwards rises again by the will of the Lord indeed with the same body:
 40. neither indeed does it arise the same simple body, but manifold, and filled with blessing.
 41. But we must produce the example not only from seed, but from honourable bodies of men.
 42. ye also have known Jonas the son of Amittai;
 43. because he delayed to preach to the Ninevites, he was swallowed up in the belly of a fish for three days, and three nights:
 44. and after three days God heard his supplication, and brought him out from the deep abyss;
 45. neither was any part of his body corrupted, neither was his eyebrow bent down;
 46. and how much more for you, oh men of little faith!
 47. If you believe in our Lord Jesus Christ, he will raise you up, even as he himself hath risen.
 48. If the bones of Elijah the prophet falling upon dead revive the dead,
 49. by how much more shall ye, who are supported by the flesh and the blood and the Spirit of Christ, arise again on that day, with a perfect body?
 50. Elias the prophet embracing the widow's son raised him from the dead,
 51. by how much more shall Jesus Christ revive you on that day with a perfect body, even as he himself hath risen?
 52. But if you receive other things vainly,
 53. henceforth no one shall cause me to travail; for I bear on my body these bonds,
 54. to obtain Christ; and I suffer with patience these afflictions to become worthy of the resurrection of the dead.
 55. And do each of you having received the law from the hands of the blessed Prophets and the holy Gospel, firmly maintain it;

56. to the end that you may be rewarded in the resurrection of the dead and the possession of life eternal.
57. But if any of ye not believing shall trespass, he shall be judged with the misdoers, and punished with these who have false belief.
58. Because such are the generations of vipers, and the children of dragons, and basilisks.
59. Drive far from amongst ye, and fly from such, with the aid of our Lord Jesus Christ.
60. And the peace and grace of the beloved Son be with you! Amen.

Appendix Seven: Excerpt on Zurvanism from Esnacius' *Refutatio*⁴

(The authors of the Persian religion) say, that before the creation of heaven and earth and their creatures Zervanus existed, which being interpreted signifies *fortune* or *glory*. He sacrificed a thousand years that a son might be born to him (named Hormistus) who should create heaven and earth and whatever in them is.

And after this sacrifice of a thousand years, he began thus to meditate: Will this sacrifice profit me? and produce my son Hormistus or do I labour in vain?

And during this meditation, Hormistus and Harminus were conceived in the womb of their mother; Hormistus by sacrifice, Harminus by doubt.

Zervanus being assured of the fact said: There are twins in the womb, to the elder shall sovereignty be given.

But Hormistus having divined his father's intention betrayed in to Harminus, saying: Our father Zervanus is disposed to give the sovereignty to the elder of us two.

But Harminus hearing these words, came forth immediately, and presented himself to his father.

Having seen him Zervanus knew not who he was, and said: Who art thou? He replied: I am thy son. But Zervanus said: My son is bright and of grateful odour, but thou art dark and offensive.

But while they thus discoursed, Hormistus was born at this time, shining and sweet, and presented himself to Zervanus.

And Zervanus knew him to be Hormistus his son for whom he had sacrificed. And he gave the instruments with which he had sacrificed into the hands of Hormistus saying: With these I sacrificed for thee, henceforth thou do the same for me .

And Zervanus held forth the instruments to Hormistus; and blessed him. But Harminus standing up before Zervanus said: Hast thou not vowed the kingdom to the elder born?

Zervanus who could not promise in vain, said to Harminus: Hence thou deceitful and malicious! the kingdom is thine for nine thousand years. But Hormistus I appoint over thee, and after nine thousand years he shall reign alone, and do what he wisheth.

Then began Hormistus and Harminus the creation. All things made from Hormistus were good and right, but which Harminus made, was bad and wrong.

⁴ Translation exercise taken from P. Aucher, *Grammar Armenian and English* (Venice: Armenian Academy, 1819), pp.198-203.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Archival Sources Consulted:

The John Murray Archive in the Scottish National Library.

The Special Collections in the University of Aberdeen Library.

Church Documents, from the Scottish Documents branch of the Scottish National Archives.

San Lazzaro Library, San Lazzaro Monastery, Venice.

A Catholic Dictionary of Theology, 3 vols (London: Nelson & Sons, 1971).

Abby L., *Destroyer and Preserver: Shelley's Poetic Skepticism* (London: University of Nebraska Press, 1979).

Abrams R., 'Illicit Pleasures: Dante Among the Sensualists', *MLN*, 100, (1985), pp. 1-41.

Adalian R., *Historical History of Armenia* (Oxford: Scarecrow Press, 2002).

Agnes A., 'Voltaire's Biblical Criticism: a Study in Thematic Representation', *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, 30, (1964), pp. 205-221.

----- 'Voltaire, Calmet and the Old Testament', *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, 41, (1966), pp. 87-188.

----- 'Voltaire and the Old Testament, the Testimony of his Correspondence', *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, 55, (1967), pp. 43-63.

Acosta A., *Reading Genesis in the Long Eighteenth Century* (Hampshire, Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2006).

Aldred C., *Akhenaten: King of Egypt* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1991).

Allan A., *Scotland in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Longman, 2002).

Allen, 'Greeks, Indians and the Scottish Presbyterian: Vegetarians in Scotland', *1650-1850: Ideas, Aesthetics and Inquiries in the Early Modern Era*, 6, (2001), pp.265-297.

Allberry C.R.C., ed. and trans., *Manichean Psalm Book*, (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1938).

Allix P., *Some Remarks Upon the Ecclesiastical History of the Ancient Churches of Piedmont* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1821).

Almeida H., 'Byron's Scots and Byron's Scotland', *Studies in Romanticism*, 47, (2008), pp. 3-14.

Almond P.C., *Heaven and Hell in Enlightenment England* (Cambridge: University Press, 1994).

Alvarez A., *The Savage God: a Study of Suicide* (Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1974).

Anderson A. trans., *The Treatise of the Three Imposters and the Problem of the Enlightenment* (Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Inc., 1997).

A. Anderson, *Tainted Souls and Painted Faces – The Rhetoric of Fallenness in Victorian Culture* (London: Cornell University Press, 1993).

Anderson R.B., 'Byron', *Pazmaveb*, 4, (1924), pp.14-23.

Anon., *Sin is the Cause of National Calamities: a Sermon by a Minister of the Church of Scotland* ([Aberdeen?]:1800).

Anon., *The Death of Cain in 5 Book: After the Manner of The Death of Abel* (Newburyport: Osbourne's Press, 1793).

Anon., *The Dogon of Calvinism the Moloch of Decrees, a Poem* (182-?).

Anon., *The National Covenant and Solemn League and Covenant and Engagement to Duties* ([Aberdeen?]:1712).

Anon., *The Trial of William Lord Byron, Baron Byron of Rochdale for the Murder of William Chaworth Esq. Before the Right Honourable House of Peers...* (London: Samuel Billingsley, 1765).

Applegate K.W. trans., *Voltaire on Religion, Selected Writings* (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1974).

Aquinas T., *Summae Theologica* (Michigan: T Baker, 1918).

Arnerry A.J. ed., *Religion in the Middle East: Three Religions in Concord and Conflict* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969).

Ashdowne W., *An Attempt to Prove that the Opinion Concerning the Devil or Satan as a Fallen Angel and that he Tempts Men to Sin Hath no Real Foundation in Scripture* (London: Johnson, 1804).

Aston N., *Religion and Revolution in France 1780-1804* (London: Macmillan Press, 2000).

Atkins E., 'Points of Contact Between Byron and Socrates', *PMLA*, 41 (1926), pp.402-423.

Atkins G.D., 'The Ancients, the Moderns and Gnosticism', *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, 151, (1976), pp.149-166.

Atkins J.M., 'Calvinist Bishops, Church Unity and the Rise of Arminianism', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, 18, (1986), pp. 411-427.

Audier P., 'Exercises in the Armenian Language', *A Grammar Armenian and English* (Venice: Armenian Academy Press, 1819).

----- Diary, (unpublished) from the San Lazzaro Monastery Library, Venice.

Augst J. ed., *The Origins of Depression* (New York: Springer Verlag, 1983).

Augustine, *The Confessions of St Augustine* (London: Andrew Melrose, 1867).

----- *Saint Augustine on Genesis*, trans. RJ Teske (Washington DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1991).

----- *The Works of Aurelius Augustine, Bishop of Hippo*, 5 vols (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1872).

Ayock R., 'Lord Byron and Bayle's Dictionary', *The Yearbook of English Studies*, 5, (1975), pp.2-152.

Baker N., '"To Make Love to Deformity": Praising Ugliness in Early Modern England', *Renaissance Studies*, 22, (2007), pp. 86-109.

Ballenhouse R.W., 'Tamburlaine: the Scourge of God', *PMLA*, 56, (1941), pp. 337-48.

Balloch Grossart A. ed., *The Complete Works of Richard Sibbes* (London: James Nisbet & Co, 1862).

Barker Benfield G., *A Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992)

Barney S., W. Lewis, and others, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

Baron J.H., 'Illness and Creativity: Byron's Appetites, James Joyce's Gut and Melba's Meals and Mesalliances', *British Medical Journal*, 315, (1997), pp.1697-1703.

Barr J., 'The Question of Religious Influence: the Case of Zoroastrianism, Judaism and Christianity', *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 53, (1985), pp.201-235.

J. Barth, *Coleridge and Christian Doctrine* (Fordham: FUP, 1987).

Barton A., 'Byron and the Mythology of Fact', *Nottingham Byron Lectures*, (1968).

Barton P.D., *Lord Byron's Religion: a Journey into Despair* (New York: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2003).

Bassnett S., 'Byron and Translation', *The Byron Journal*, 14, (1986), pp.22-32.

Batten G., *The Orphaned Imagination: Melancholy and Commodity Culture in English Romanticism* (London: Duke University Press, 1998).

Baudy M., *Mind Forg'd Manacles: Evil in the Poetry of Blake and Shelley* (Alabama: Alabama University Press, 1981).

Bauer S., 'Byron's Doubting Cain', *South Atlantic Bulletin*, 39, (1974), pp. 80-88.

Bauer W., *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity*, trans. D. Hay, (London: SCM Press, 1964).

Bauthumley J., *The Light and Dark Sides of God* (London: William Leamer, 1650).

Bax D., *Hieronymous Bosch: His Picture Writing Deciphered* (Rotterdam: AA Balkema, 1979).

Bayle P., *Historical and Critical Dictionary* trans. R. Popkin (New York: The Bobbs Merville Company, 1965).

----- *Historical and Critical Dictionary*, 3 vols (London: Hirst & Clarke, 1826).

----- *The Dictionary, Historical and Critical*, 5 vols (London: 1734).

----- *A General Dictionary, Historical and Critical*, 10 vols (London: James Bettenham, 1734).

Beatty B. and R. Gleckner, eds. *Plays of Lord Byron: Critical Essays* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1997).

Beatty B., T. Howe and C.E. Robinson eds., *Liberty and Poetic License: New Essays on Byron* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008).

Beatty B. 'Addressing Time: Poetry of Lord Byron', *Byron Foundation Lecture* (2008).

----- 'Cain's Legacy and Cain's Tradition', *Wordsworth Circle*, 27, (1996), pp.4-9.

Beaty FL., 'Byron's Concept of Ideal Love', *The Keats-Shelley Journal*, 12, (1963), pp. 37-54.

----- 'Byron on Joanna Southcott and Undeserved Salvation', *The Keats-Shelley Journal*, 26, (1977), pp. 34-38.

Bebbington, D., *Evangelicals in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London: Routledge, 1988).

Beckham E.E. and W. Leber eds., *The Handbook of Depression* (London: Guilford Press, 1995).

Beecher-Stowe H., *Lady Byron Vindicated*, (London: Echo Library, 2008).

Beer de G., 'An Atheist in the Alps', *Keats Shelley Memorial*, 17, (1956), pp. 1-15.

Beer G., *Romanticism, Revolution and Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

Behndent S ed., *History and Myth: Essays on English Romantic Literature* (Detroit, Wayne State University Press, 1990).

Bekaryan A., 'Byron and Armenia: A Case of Mirrored Affinities', *The Reception of Byron in Europe*, ed. R.A. Cardwell, 3 vols (London: Thoemmes Continuum, 2004), II, pp. 386-405.

Bell M.C., *Calvin and Scottish Theology* (Edinburgh: The Handel Press, 1985).

Benedict P., *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed: a Social History of Calvinism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002).

Benham W. ed., *Letters of Cowper* (London: Macmillan & Co, 1834).

Berne E., 'The Mythology of Dark and Fair: Psychiatric Use of Folklore', *Journal of American Folklore*, 72, (1959), pp.1-13.

Bernhard Jackson E.A., 'Manfred's Mental Theatre and the Construction of Knowledge', *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*, 27, (2007), pp. 799-824.

Besterman T., 'Voltaire's God', *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, 55, (1967), pp. 23-42.

Bevan E., *Later Greek Religion* (London: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1927).

Beverly T., *The True State of Gospel Truth, Established upon the Free Election of God in Christ* (London: William Marshall, 1693).

Bevis M., *The Art of Eloquence: Byron, Dickens, Tennyson, Joyce* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

Bianchi U., *Selected Essays on Gnosticism, Dualism and Mysteriorosophy* (Leiden: EJ Brill 1978).

Bingham A.J., 'Voltaire and the New Testament', *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, 24, (1963), pp. 183-218.

Bisset J., *Sermon on Isaiah 6.9-12: The Profligacy and Incurability of Any Nation or People, a Sure Presage of Approaching Temporal Calamities* (Aberdeen: J. Chalmers & Co, 1794).

----- *A Sermon from Isaiah 26.9, a View of the Judgement of God Inflicted on Different Nations of the World, and on Great Britain in Particular* (Aberdeen: J. Chalmers & Co, 1794).

Blackburn T.C., 'Friday's Religion: Its Nature and Importance in Robinson Crusoe', *Eighteenth Century Studies*, 18, (1985), pp.360-369.

Blake W., *The Poetical Works of William Blake* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1913).

----- *Songs of Innocence and Experience* (London: Tate Publishing, 2007).

Blakeway R., *An Essay Towards the Cure of Religious Melancholy in a Letter to a Gentlewoman Afflicted with it* (London: 1717).

Countess Blessington, *Conversations of Lord Byron*, ed. EJ Lovell (Princeton: Princeton university Press, 1969).

Bloom H., *The Visionary Company – a Reading of English Romantic Poetry* (London: Faber & Faber, 1962).

----- *Poetry and Repression: Revisionism from Blake to Stevens* (London: Yale University Press, 1976).

----- *Ruin: the Sacred Truths* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989).

Blustein G., 'The Brotherhood of Sinners: Literary Calvinism', *The New England Quarterly*, 50, (1977), pp. 195-213.

Boase T.S.R., 'Shipwrecks in English Romantic Painting', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 22, (1959), pp. 332-346.

----- *The Oxford History of English Art* (Oxford; Clarendon press, 1959).

Boccacini G. and J.J. Collins eds., *The Early Enochic Literature* (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

Bone D. ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Byron* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

Bostetter E., 'Byron and the Politics of Paradise', *PMLA*, 75, (1960), pp. 571-576.

Boswell J., *The Life of Samuel Johnson* (London: Charles Dilly, 1799).

Boswell J.E., 'Dante and the Sodomites', *Dante Studies*, 112, (1994), pp. 63-76.

Boulger J.D., *The Calvinist Temper in English Poetry* (New York: Mouton Publishers, 1980).

Bowersock G, P. Brown and O. Grabar, *Late Antiquity: a Guide to Post-Classical Work* (Harvard: University Press, 1999).

Bowie F., *The Anthropology of Religion* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006).

Boyce M., *A Persian Stronghold of Zoroastrianism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977).

----- *Zoroastrians: a Shadowy but Powerful Presence in the Judeo-Christian World* (Inverness: Highlanders Printers, 1987).

----- *History of Zoroastrianism* (London: E.J. Brill, 1982).

Bransby J. ed., *Evans' Sketch of the Various Denominations of the Christian World* (London: Longman & Co, 1841).

Breem J., Noble M., *Romantic Literature* (London: Arnold, 2002).

Brett-Smith H., 'Ahrimanes by Thomas Love Peacock', *The Modern Language Review*, (1909), pp. 521-524.

Brice B., *Coleridge and Scepticism* (Oxford: University Press, 2007).

Briggs E.R., 'Mysticism and Rationalism in the Debate upon Eternal Punishment', *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, 24, (1963), pp. 241-254.

Bringle M., *Despair: Sickness or Sin?* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1990).

British Critic Quarterly Theological Review and Ecclesiastical Record, 9, (1831).

Briscoe W. ed., *Byron the Poet: a Collection of Addresses & Essays* (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1924).

Brogan H., 'Romantic Classicism in Peacock's Verse Satire', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 14, (1974), pp. 525-536.

----- 'Byron so Full of Fun, Frolic, Wit and Whim', *The Huntingdon Library Quarterly*, 37, (1974), pp.171-189.

Brooks E.L., 'Byron and the London Magazine', *The Keats-Shelley Journal*, 5, (1956), pp. 49-68.

Brown G.W., *Social Origins of Depression* (London: Tavistock, 1978).

Brown P., 'The Diffusion of Manichaeism in the Roman Empire', *The Journal of Roman Studies*, 59, (1969), pp.92-103.

Brown E., *The Trial of Cain, the First Murderer by Rule of Court* (Lowell, 1840).

Brydges E., *An Impartial Portrait of Lord Byron as a Poet and a Man* (Paris: A & W Gagliani, 1825).

----- *Letters on the Poetical Genius of Lord Byron* (London: Longman, Hurst & Co, 1824).

Bullen J. ed., *The Sun is God: Painting, Literature and Mythology in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989).

Bullock J.M., *The Tragic Adventures of Byron's Ancestors. The Gordons of Gight, a Study in Degeneration* (Aberdeen: 1898)

Bunwick J., 'The Revolt of Islam: Vegetarian Shelley and the Narrative of Mental Pathology', *The Wordsworth Circle*, 40, (2009), pp. 87-93.

Bunyan J., *Pilgrims Progress* (London: Amalgamated Press Ltd, 1905).

- *Grace Abounding* Project Gutenberg E-Book (1996).
- *A Few Sighs from Hell, or the Groans of the Damned Soul* (London: M. Wright, 1658).
- Burkert W., *Greek Religion* (Blackwell Publishers 1985).
- Burns R., *The Poetical Work of Robert Burns*, ed. J.L. Robertson (London: Henry Frowde, 1896).
- Burke E., *Philosophical Enquiry into the Sublime and Beautiful* (London: Routledge, 2008).
- Burton E., *An Inquiry into the Heresies of the Apostolic Age in Eight Sermons* (Oxford: S. Collingwood, 1829).
- Burton R., *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, 3 vols (London: G Bell & Sons, 1923).
- Butler E.M., 'Goethe and Byron', *Byron Foundation Lectures* (1949-50).
- Butler M., 'Myth and Mythmaking in the Shelley Circle', *ELH*, 49, (1982), pp.50-72.
- Butlin, M., L. Hermann and E. Joll eds., *The Oxford Companion to Turner* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).
- Buxton R., *Imaginary Greece: Contexts of Mythology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1996).
- Byron G., *Selected Poems* (Penguin Classics, 2006).
- *Cain a Mystery* (London: R. Carlisle, 1822).
- *The Ravenna Journal by Lord Byron* (London: The First Edition Club, 1928).
- *Sardanapalous, The Two Foscari and Cain* (London: John Murray, 1821).
- Cable Brown W., *Charles Churchill, Poet, Rake and Rebel* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1968).
- 'Robert Southey and the English Interest in the Near East', *ELH*, 5, (1938), pp.218-224.
- Cairns J., *Unbelief in the Eighteenth Century as Contrasted with its Earlier and Later History* (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1881).
- Calder A. ed., *Byron and Scotland –Radical or dandy?* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1989).
- Calder A., *Byron* (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1987).
- Calvert W., *Byron: a Romantic Paradox* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1962).
- Calvin J., *The Institutes of the Christian Religion*, trans. Henry Beveridge (Edinburgh: The Calvin Translation Society, 1845).

----- *Commentaries on the First Book of Moses, Called Genesis*, (Edinburgh: Calvin Translation Society, 1847).

Callaghan M., 'The Struggle with Language in Lord Byron's *Cain*', *The Byron Journal*, 38, (2010), pp. 125-134.

Cameron J.K., 'The Church of Scotland in the Age of Reason', *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, 58, (1967), pp. 1939-1951.

Cameron K.W., 'Shelley and Ahrimanes', *Modern Language Quarterly*, 3, (1942), pp.287-295.

Cameron R. and A.J. Dewy trans., *The Cologne Mani Codex* (Montana: Scholars Press, 1979).

Campbell T., *Specimens of the British Poets*, 7 vols (London: John Murray, 1819).

Cambell L.B., 'Doctor Faustus A Case of Conscience', *PMLA*, 67, (1952), pp. 219-239.

Camporesi P., *The Fear of Hell: Images of Damnation and Salvation in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990).

Cantor W., *Creature & Creator: Mythmaking in English Romanticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

----- 'Byron's Cain: a Romantic Version of the Fall', *The Kenyan Review*, 2, (1980), pp. 50-71.

Canuel M., *The Shadow of Death: Literature, Romanticism and the Subject of Punishment* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007).

Carpenter F.I., 'Puritans Prefer Blondes. The Heroines of Melville and Hawthorne', *New England Quarterly*, 9, (1936), pp. 253-272.

Carradonna J.L., 'Grub Street and Suicides, a View from the Literary Press in Late Eighteenth Century France', *Journal for Eighteenth Century Studies*, 33, (2010), pp.23-36.

Carruthers R. ed., *The Shipwreck, a Poem by William Falconer* (Edinburgh: Adam & Charles Black, 1858).

la'Cava P., 'Byron and the Pseudepigrapha: a Re-examination of the Mystery Plays' in *Byron Journal*, 14, (1986), pp.44-51.

Cavill P. and H. Ward eds., *The Christian Tradition in English Literature* (Michigan: Zondervan, 2002).

Ceaser M. ed., *Dante: The Critical Heritage* (London: Routledge, 1989).

Cecil D., *The Stricken Deer or a Life of Cowper* (London: Constable & Co, 1930).

Chandler A., 'Sir Walter Scott and the Medieval Revival', *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, 19, (1965), pp. 315-332.

Charles R.H., *The Book of Enoch* (London: SPCK, 1917).

Chernaik W., *The Poet's Time: Politics and Religion in the Work of Andrew Marvell* (Cambridge: University Press 1983).

Chesterton G.K., *Orthodoxy* (London: John Lane, 1919).

Cheung K.K., 'The Dialect of Despair in *Doctor Faustus*', *A Poet and a Filthy Play-Maker: New Essays on Christopher Marlowe*, eds. K. Freidenreich, R. Gill, C.B. Kuriyama (New York: AMS Press, 1988).

Chew S., *Byron in England* (London: John Murray, 1924).

Christie W., 'Despondency and Madness: Shelley in Conversation with Byron in *Julian and Maddalo*', *The Byron Journal*, 21, (1993), pp. 43-62.

Claridge L., *Romantic Potency: The Paradox of Desire* (London: Cornell University Press, 1992).

Clark K., *The Romantic Rebellion – Romantic Versus Classic Art* (London: John Murray, 1973).

Clifton C.S., *Encyclopaedia of Heresies and Heretics* (Oxford: ABC-Clio, 1992).

Cline C., 'Byron and Southey: a Suppressed Rejoinder', *The Keats-Shelley Journal*, 3, (1954), pp. 27-38.

Cochrane P., 'Byron's Library: The Three Book Sale Catalogues', *International Byron Society*.

----- 'Byron and the Birth of Ahrimanes', *Keats Shelley Review*, 6, (1991), pp. 49-59.

----- 'Manfred and Thomas Taylor', *The Byron Journal*, 29, (2001), pp. 62-71.

Cochrane P. ed. *The Gothic Byron* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009).

----- ed. *Byron and Orientalism* (Cambridge: Scholars Press, 2006).

----- ed. *Byron and Women [and Men]* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010).

Comnena A., *The Alexiad of Princess Anna Comnena*, trans. E. Dawes (London: Kegan, Paul, Trench & Trubner, 1928).

Conybeare F.C., *The Armenian Church: Heritage and Identity*, (New York: St Vartan Press, 2001).

Cooke M. G., *The Blind Man Traces the Circle: On the Patterns and Philosophy of Byron's Poetry* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969).

Cooper A.M., 'Shipwreck and Skepticism: *Don Juan* Canto II', *The Keats-Shelley Journal*, 32, (1983), pp. 63-80.

Corus T.N., *Uncloistered Virtue: English Political Literature, 1640-1660* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992).

Coulson J., *Religion and Imagination* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981).

Cowan I.B., *The Scottish Reformation* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1982).

Cowper W., *The Poetical Works of William Cowper*, 2 vols (Edinburgh: James Nichol, 1854).

Cowper W. and J. Newton, *The Olney Hymns in Three Books* (London: James Duncan, 1825).

Cragwell J., 'The Shelleys' Enthusiasm', *The Huntingdon Library Quarterly*, 68, (2005), pp. 631-655.

Craig D., *Scottish Literature and the Scottish People* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1961).

Craneans C.D., *The Reception of Calvinistic Thought in England* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1949).

Crompton L., *Byron and Greek Love* (Los Angeles: University of California press, 1985).

Culpepper R. and A. Black eds., *Exploring the Gospel of John* (Kentuckyville: John Knox Press, 1996).

Curate J., *The Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence; OR the Foolishness of their Teaching Discovered from their Books Sermons and Prayers* (London: Randal Taylor, 1694).

Curran S. and J.A. Wittreich, 'The Dating of Shelley's *On the Devil and Devils*' *The Keats-Shelley Journal*, 21, (1972), pp. 83-94.

Curran S. ed., *The Cambridge Companion to British Romanticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

Daiche D., J. Jones and P. Jones eds., *The Scottish Enlightenment: 1730-1790, a Hotbed of Genius* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996).

Dante A., *The Divine Comedy*, trans. D. Sayers (London: Penguin Books, 1949).

Darnton R., *The Forbidden Bestsellers of Pre-Revolutionary France* (London: WW Norton & Co, 1996).

----- *The Great Cat Massacre and other Episodes in French Cultural History* (New York: Vintage Books, 1985).

Daston L. and K. Park, 'Unnatural Conception: The Study of Monsters in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century France and England', *Past and Present*, 92, (1981), pp. 20-54.

Dastur J. and C. Pavry, 'Manichaeism: a Rival of Zoroastrianism and Christianity', *The Journal of Religion*, 17, (1937), pp.161-169.

David C., 'Note the Literary Allusions', *The English Journal*, 54, (1965), pp. 59-60.

Davidson D., 'Gordons of Gight: an Ancient Tomb of Grim Memories', (1931?)

Davies S., 'Thomas: the Fourth Synoptic Gospel', *The Biblical Archaeologist*, 46, (1983), pp.6-9.

Davies C.M., *Unorthodox London, or Phases of Religious Life in the Metropolis* (London: Tinsley brothers 1873).

Davis B.E.C., *Edmund Spencer: A Critical Study* (Cambridge: University Press, 1933).

Dawson P.M.S. and T. Webb eds., *Shelley's 'Devil' Notebook*, Bodleian MS. Shelley, (London: Garland Publishing inc. 1993).

Dayan L., 'Lord Byron at S. Lazarus', *Pazmaveb* (Vol. 4, 1924) pp.140-146.

Defoe D., *The Political History of the Devil* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2005).
----- *The Life and Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965).

Dennis I., 'Cain Lord Byron's Sincerity', *Studies in Romanticism*, 21, (2002), pp.655-674.

Dent R.W., 'Hamlet: Scourge and Sinner', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 29, (1978).

Dhalla V., *Symbolism in Zoroastrianism: The Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees* (Bombay: K.R. Cama Oriental Institute, 1994).

Dickson N., *The Bible in Waverly: Or Sir Walter Scott's Use of the Sacred Scriptures* (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1884).

Diderot D., *Jacques the Fatalist* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

Digeon A., 'Shelley and Peacock', *Modern Language Notes*, 25, (1910), pp. 41-45.

Dignas B. and E. Winter, *Rome and Persia in Late Antiquity: Neighbours and Rivals* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

Dimant D., 'The Biography of Enoch and the Books of Enoch', *Vetus Testamentum*, 33, (1983), pp.14-29.

Dingley R.J., "'I Had a Dream": Byron's *Darkness*', *The Byron Journal*, 9, (1981), pp.20-33.

Diodorus, *The Historical Library of Diodorus the Sicilian in 15 Books to which are added the fragments of Diodorus*, trans. G. Booth (London: W.M. Dowell, 1814).

Dix A. and J. Taylor, *Figures of Heresy: Radical Theology in English and American Writing, 1800-2000* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2006).

Dolan F.E., 'Taking the Pencil Out of God's hand: Art, Nature and the Face-Painting Debate in Early modern England', *PMLA*, 108, (1993), pp. 224-239.

Dowden W., *The Letters of Thomas Moore* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964).

Dowling A., *The Armenian Church* (London: SPCK, 1910).

Dowling G., *In Venice and the Veneto with Lord Byron* (Venice: Supernova, 2008)

Dowsett C., 'The Madman has Come back Again', *Journal for the Society of Armenian Studies*, 4, (1988-89), pp.7-52.

Draper J.W., 'The Social Satires of Thomas Love Peacock Part II' *Modern Language Notes*, 34, (1919), pp. 23-28.

Drinkwater J., *The Pilgrim of Eternity: Byron 'a Conflict'* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1925).

Drummond A. and J. Bulloch, *The Scottish Church 1688-1843: the Age of the Moderates* (Edinburgh: St Andrews Press, 1973).

Dudycha G., 'Ideas of Origin Amongst the Ancient Egyptians and Babylonians' *Scientific Monthly*, 32, (1931), pp.263-269.

During S., 'Beckford in Hell: An Episode in the History of Secular Enchantment', *Huntingdon Library Quarterly*, 20, (2007), pp. 269-290.

Edgeworth R.J., 'Milton's "Darkness Visible" and "Aeneid"', *The Classical Journal*, 79, (1983), pp. 97-99.

Edwards P., *Pilgrimage and Literary Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

Ehrstein J., *The Metaphysics of Byron: a Reading of the Plays* (Paris: Mouton, 1976).

Eliot T.S., *On Poetry and Poets* (London: Faber & Faber, 1935).

- Ellis D., 'Who was the King of the Cats? Byron, Shelley and the Friendship of Poets', *Cambridge Quarterly*, 39, (2010), pp.61-75.
- S. Ellis, *Dante and English Poetry: Shelley to T.S. Eliot* (Cambridge: CUP, 1983), pp. 3-35.
- Elwin M., *Lord Byron's Wife* (London: John Murray, 1974).
- Engelberg K., 'Leigh Hunt and Blackwoods' Edinburgh Magazine', *The Review of English Studies*, 29, (1978), pp.185-190.
- Emerson O.F., 'The Legends of Cain, Especially in Old and Middle English', *PMLA*, 21, (1906), pp. 831-929.
- Emmerson R. and B. McGinn eds., *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (London: Cornell University Press, 1992).
- Empson W., *Milton's God* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1965).
- Erdman D., 'Byron and the New Force of People', *The Keats-Shelley Journal*, 9, (1962), pp. 47-64.
- Evans G.R., *A Brief History of Heresy* (Oxford: Blackwells Publishing, 2003).
- Evans F.B., 'Thomas Taylor: Platonist of the Romantic Period', *PMLA*, 55, (1940), pp. 1060-1079.
- Evans B., 'Manfred's Remorse and The Dramatic Tradition', *PMLA*, 62, (1947), pp. 752-773.
- Evans-Pritchard E., *Theories of Primitive Religion*, (Oxford: OUP, 1972).
- Everest K. ed., *Revolution in Writing – British Literary Responses to the French Revolution* (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1991).
- Fairchild H., *The Romantic Quest* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1965).
- 'The Romantic Movement in England', *PMLA*, 55, (1940), pp. 20-26.
- *Religious Trends in English Poetry*, 4 vols (New York: Columbia, University Press, 1942).
- Fairley B., *A Study of Goethe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961).
- Farwell B., 'Sources for Delacroix's Death of Sardanapalus', *The Art Bulletin*, 40, (1958), pp.66-70.
- Finden J., *Landscape and Portrait Illustrations to the Life and Works of Lord Byron* (London: John Murray, 1833).
- Finkelstein R., 'Pericles, Paul, and Protestantism', *Comparative Drama*, 44, (2010).

Finley P. and C.H. Taylor, *Images of the Journey in Dante's Divine Comedy* (London: Yale University Press, 1995).

Fitzpatrick W.P., 'Byron's Mysteries: the Paradoxical Drive Towards Eden', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 15, (1975), pp. 615-625.

Fleischman W., *Lucretius and English Literature* (Paris: A G Nizet, 1964).

Fleming A., *Byron the Maker: Truth or Masquerade – an Exploration* (Sussex: Book Guild Publishing, 2006).

Floyd W.G., *Clement of Alexandria's Treatment of the Problem of Evil* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971).

Flynn P., 'Early Blackwood's and Scottish Identities', *Studies in Romanticism*, 46, (2007), pp. 43-58.

Forrest J.F. and R. Shanock, *John Bunyan: The Holy War* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980).

Fortescue E.F., *The Armenian Church* (London: J.T. Hayes, 1872).

Fowler W., *A Reading of Dante's Inferno* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1981).

Fox D.A., 'Darkness and Light: the Zoroastrian View', *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 35, (1967), pp.129-137.

Frassetto M. ed., *Heresy and the Persecuting Society in the Middle Ages: Essays on the Work of R.I. Moore* (Boston: Brill 2006).

Freden L., *Psychosocial Aspects of Depression: No Way Out?* (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 1982).

Fulford T. ed., *Robert Southey, Poetical Works 1793-1810*, Vol. 3 (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2004).

Furlong M., *Puritan's Progress: A Study of John Bunyan* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1975).

Gager G., 'Marcion and Philosophy', *Vigiliae Christianae*, 62, (1972), pp. 53-59.

Galt J., *Annals of the Parish* (Edinburgh: John Grant, 1936).

Gardner H., *Religion and Literature* (London: Faber & Faber, 1971).

Gardener I. and S. Lieu eds., *Manichean Texts from the Roman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

Gargett G., 'Voltaire and Protestantism', *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, 188, (1980), pp. 13-453.

Garrett M., *Palgrave Literary Dictionary of Lord Byron* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

Garside P. D., 'Scott, the Romantic Past and the Nineteenth Century', *The Review of English Studies*, 23, (1972), pp. 147-161.

Garsoian N., *Armenia Between Byzantium and the Sasanians* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1985).

Gibbon E., *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. A. Lentin (Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Classics of World Literature, 1998).

Gibbons T., *Memoirs of Rev. Isaac Watts* (London: Buckland, 1780)

Giddey E., 'Byron and Beckford', *The Byron Journal*, 6, (1978), pp.38-47.

----- 'Gibbon, Byron and the Idea of Revolution', *The Byron Journal*, 18, (1990), pp.50-60.

Gilbert P., *Depression: The Evolution of Powerlessness* (Hove: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1992).

Gilbert T., *A Learned and Accurate Discourse Concerning the Guilt of Sin and Prayer for that Pardon* (Aberdeen: J Chalmers, 1778).

Gleckner R.F., *Romanticism: Points of View* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1975).

----- *Byron and the Ruins of Paradise* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1967).

Glen H., 'The Poet in Society: Blake and Wordsworth in London', *Literature and History*, 2, (1967), pp.2-28.

Glover T.R., *Poets and Puritans* (London: Methuen & Co, 1915).

Gregor D.B., 'Byron's Knowledge of Armenian', *Notes & Queries* (1951), pp.316-320.

Goethe J., *Faust*, trans. E. Taylor (London: Warde, Locke Co, 1918).

----- *The Sorrows of Young Werther*, trans. M Hulse (London: Penguin Classics, 2003).

Godwin W., *Caleb Williams* (London: Oxford University Press, 1970).

----- *Enquiry Concerning Political Justice and its Influence on Morals and Happiness*, ed. F. Priestley (Toronto: 1946).

Goldberg L.S., "'This Gloom can Avail Thee Nothing": *Cain* and Scepticism', *Criticism*, 41, (1999), pp.207-232.

- Gonsalves J.D., 'Byron – in Between Sade, Lautreamont and Foucault: Situating the Canon of Evil in the Nineteenth Century', *Romanticism on the Net*, 45, (2006).
- Goodall J., 'Frankenstein and the Reprobate's Conscience', *Studies in the Novel*, 31, (1999).
- Goodrich W., 'Plato, Politicus 269E-270A: an Allusion to Zoroastrianism?', *The Classical Review*, 20, (1906), pp.208-209.
- Gordon A., *Heresy, its Ancient Wrongs and Modern Rights in these Kingdoms* (London: Lindsay Press, 1913).
- Grant R., 'The Origin of the Fourth Gospel', *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 69, (1950), pp.305-322.
- 'Notes on Gnosis', *Vigiliae Christianae*, 11, (1957), pp.145-151.
- Graham K.W., 'Narrative Method in *Caleb Williams*: Contrasting Perceptions on Evil', *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, 302, (1992), pp. 1389-1405.
- Green A. ed., *Jewish Spirituality* (New York: SCM Press ltd, 1989).
- Greenfield S.N., 'Bunyan, Non-conformism and the Limits of Allegory', *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, 303, (1992), pp. 439-441.
- Grebannier B., *The Uninhibited Byron: an Account of his Sexual Confusion* (New York: Crown Publishers inc. 1970).
- Gregor D., 'Byron's Knowledge of Armenian', *Notes and Queries*, (1951) pp.316-320.
- A. Greig, *In Another Light* (London: Phoenix, 2005).
- Gribbean C., *The Puritan Millennium Literature and Theology, 1550-1632* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000).
- Grierson, H., *Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, 12 vols (London: Constable, 1932-1937).
- Groom N., ed. *Thomas Chatterton and Romantic Culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 1999).
- Grossman A. and G. Whiting, 'Milton's First Sonnet on His Blindness' *Review of English Studies*, 12, (1961), pp. 364-372.
- Guccioli T., *My Recollections of Lord Byron* 2 Vol. (London: Richard Bentley, 1869).
- Guest A., 'Imagery of Colour and Light in Scott's Narrative Poems', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 12, (1972), pp.705-720.
- Gyngell A., 'Romance and Romanticism: Byron, Keats and the Quest', *The Keats Shelley Review*, 23, (2009), pp.28-33.

Hall T., 'Christianity and Politics: IV Politics and the Reformation', *The Biblical World*, 41, (1913), pp. 229-235.

Halley Burton T., *The Unpardonable Sin Against the Holy host or, the Sin Unto Death* (Edinburgh: Westbow, 1778).

Hamilton J. and B. Hamilton eds., *Christian Dualist Heresies in the Byzantine World c. 650 – c. 1405* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998).

Hamilton-Burris S., 'Manichaeism, Skepticism and Fideism in Lord Byron's *Cain a Mystery*', www.editorskyllar.com/cain.html, (1999).

Hampsher-Monk I. ed., *The Impact of the French Revolution: Texts from Britain in the 1790's* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

Harrington D.J., 'The Reception of Walter Bauer's "Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity" during the Last Decade', *The Harvard Theological Review*, 73, (1980), pp.289-298.

Harrison A.W., *The Beginnings of Arminianism* (London: University of London Press, 1926).

Hart C. ed., *Lives of the Great Romantics: Byron* (London: William Pickering, 1996).

Haug M., *Essays on the Language, Writings and Religion of the Parsis* (Amsterdam: Philo Press 1971).

Hazard P., *European Thought in the Eighteenth Century* (Cleveland: World Publishing, 1973).

Hazlitt W., *The Spirit of the Age or Contemporary Portraits* (London: Grant Richards, 1904).

----- *The Table Talk of Martin Luther* (London: H. G. Bohn, 1857).

Heather P.J., 'Colour Symbolism: Part 1', *Folklore*, 59, (1948), pp. 165-183.

Hefferman J.A.N., 'Self Representation in Byron and Turner', *Poetics Today*, 10, (1989), pp.207-241.

Heinzelman K., 'Lord Byron and the Invention of Celebrity', *Southwest Review*, 93, (2008), pp.489-501.

Heller S.G., 'Light as Glamour: The Luminescent Ideal of Beauty in the Roman de la Rose', *Speculum*, 76, (2001), pp. 934-959.

Helm P., *The Providence of God* (Leicester: Inter Varsity press, 1993).

Henry M., *Commentary on the Bible* (London: Hendrickson, 2008).

- Henry P., 'A Different View of Voltaire's Controversial "Tout en Dieu"', *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, 135, (1975).
- Hensley Henson H., *Byron: The Rede Lecture for 1924* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1924).
- Herbert T.W., 'Calvinism and Cosmic Evil in *Moby Dick*', *PMLA*, 84, (1969), pp. 1613-1619.
- Heys A. and V. Kostadinova eds., *Byron and the Isles of the Imagination: a Romantic Chart* (Bulgaria: Context, 2009).
- Hill C., *A Turbulent, Seditious and Factious People: John Bunyan and His Church, 1628-1688* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988).
- Hill J., *The History of Christian Thought* (Oxford: Lion Publishing, 2003).
- Hillis Miller J., *The Disappearance of God* (London: Oxford University Press, 1963).
- Hilton B., *The Age of Atonement, the Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought, 1795-1865* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988).
- Hirst W.Z. ed., *Byron, The Bible and Religion: Essays from the Twelfth International Byron Seminar* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1991).
- Hirst W.Z., 'Byron's lapse into Orthodoxy: an Unorthodox Reading of Cain', *The Keats-Shelley Journal*, 29, (1980), pp. 151-172.
- Hobson T., *Milton's Vision: The Birth of Christian Liberty* (London: Continuum, 2008).
- Hodgson J., *The Memoirs of the Rev. Francis Hodgson*, 2 vols (London: Macmillan & Co, 1878).
- Hoffmeister G. ed., *European Romanticism* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1990).
- Hogg J., *The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner*, eds. P.D. Garside and I. Cambell (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2001).
- Holroyd S., *The Elements of Gnosticism* (Dorset: Element, 1994).
- Hopps G. and J. Stabler eds., *Romanticism and Religion from William Cowper to Wallace Stevens* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006).
- Houston R.A., *Madness and Society in Eighteenth Century Scotland* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000).
- Hovvanisian R. ed., *Armenian People from Ancient to Modern Times*, 2 vols (New York: St Martins Press, 2004).

Howe D.W., 'The Decline of Calvinism: an Approach to its Study' *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 14, (1972), pp. 306-329.

Hudson A. and P. Biller eds., *Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature: Heresy and Literacy 1000-1530* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

Hudson W., 'Democratic Freedom and Religious Faith in the Reformed Tradition', *Church History*, 15, (1946), pp. 177-194.

Hughes G., "'Native Energy": Byron and Hogg as Scottish Poets', *The Byron Journal*, 34, (2006), pp.133-142.

Hunt J., *Religious Thought in England in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Gibbings & Co., 1896).

Hunt L., *Lord Byron and Some of his Contemporaries* (London: Henry Colburn, 1828).

Hunter M. and D. Wootton eds., *Atheism from the Reformation to the Enlightenment* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992).

Hussey H.M., *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984).

Hutter M., 'Manichaeism in the Early Sasanian Empire', *Numen*, 40, (1993), pp.2-15.

Hughes M.Y., 'Milton and the Symbol of Light', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 4, (1964), pp.1-33.

Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, trans. S. Barney, W. Lewis and J. Beach (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

Jack R.D.S., *Scottish Prose, 1550-1700* (London: Calder & Boyers, 1971).

Jackson K., 'The Turn to Religion in Early Modern Studies', *Criticism*, 46, (2004), pp.167-190.

Jacoff R. ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Dante* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

James D.G., 'Byron and Shelley', *Byron Foundation Lectures*, (1951).

Jamison K., *Touched by Fire: Manic Depressive Illness and the Artistic Temperament* (New York: The Free Press, 1993).

Jasper D. and T. Wright eds., *The Critical Spirit and the Will to Believe* (London: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1989).

Jasper D., *The Study of Literature and Religion* (London: Macmillan Press, 1989).

----- *The Sacred and Secular Canon in Romanticism – Preserving the sacred Truths* (London: Macmillan Press, 1999).

Jones C., *The Longman Companion to the French Revolution* (London: Longman, 1988).

Jones F., *The Letters of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964).

Joukovsky N.A., 'The Lost Greek Anapests of Thomas Love Peacock', *Modern Philology*, 89, (1992), pp. 363-374.

----- 'A Dialogue on Idealities: An Unpublished Manuscript of Thomas Love Peacock', *The Yearbook of English Studies*, 7, (1977), pp. 128-140.

----- *Letters of Thomas Love Peacock*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001).

Kao P., 'Manfred's Mourning and Cain's Melancholia: a Freudian Comparison of Lord Byron's Two Metaphysical Heroes', *Postgraduate English Journal*, 9, (2004).

Kaufman R., 'Legislators of the Post-Everything World: Shelley's Defence of Adorno', *ELH*, 63, (1996), pp. 707-733.

Kennedy J., *Conversations on Religion with Lord Byron and Others, held in Cephalonia a Short Time Previous to his Lordship's Death* (London: John Murray, 1830).

Kent C. ed., *The Poetical Works of Thomas Moore* (London: Routledge, 1883).

Kidwai A.R., *Orientalism in Lord Byron's 'Turkish Tales'* (Lewiston: Mellen University Press, 1995).

Kierkegaard S., *Sickness Unto Death* (London: Penguin Classics, 2008).

Kindon J., 'Byron versus Spencer', *International Journal of Ethics*, 14, (1904), pp. 362-377.

King C.W., *The Gnostics and their Remains, Ancient and Modern* (London: Bell and Dally, 1864).

King J.N., 'Spenser's Religion', in *Cambridge Companion to Spenser*, ed. A. Hadfield (Cambridge: University Press, 2001), pp.200-216.

Kingston-Stocking M. ed., *The Journals of Claire Clairmont* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1968).

Kinney A. ed., *The Cambridge Companion to English Romanticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

Kleinhenz C., 'Dante and the Bible: Inter-textual Approaches to the *Divine Comedy*', *Italica*, 63, (1986), pp. 225-236.

Knight M. and E. Mason, *Nineteenth Century Religion and Literature: an Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

Knox J., *The History of the Reformation of Religion within the Realm of Scotland* (Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1994).

----- *First Book of Discipline*, ed. D. Laing (Edinburgh : James Thin, 1895).

Knox V., *Christian Philosophy: an Attempt to Display by Internal Testimony the Evidence and Excellence of Revealed Religion* (London: C Dilly, 1798).

Koester H., 'Apocryphal and Canonical Gospels', *The Harvard Theological Review*, 73, (1980), pp.105-130.

Kra P., 'Montesquieu's *Lettres Persanes* and George Lyttleton's *Letters from a Persian in England*,' *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, 304, (1992), pp. 871-875.

Kramnick I. ed., *The Portable Enlightenment Reader* (London: Penguin Books, 1995).

Kristeva J., *Black Sun: Depression and Melancholia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989).

Krutz L.R., 'The Politics of Heresy', *American Journal of Sociology*, 88, (1986) pp.1085-1115.

Kuchar G., *The Poetry of Religious Sorrow in England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

Labuschagne H., 'Historical Perspective of Huguenots, Cathars and Waldensians', from archiver.rootsweb.ancestry.com.

LaChance C., 'Calvinistic Naturalism in Byron's *Corsair* and *Manfred*', *The Byron Journal*, 26, (1998), pp. 57-62.

Laird M., *Gregory of Nyssa and the Grasp of Faith: Union, Knowledge and Divine Presence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

Lambert M., *Medieval Heresy: Popular Movements from Bogomil to Hus* (London: Edward Arnold 1977).

----- *Medieval Heresy: Popular Movement from the Gregorian Reform to the Reformation* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 3rd ed. 2002).

----- *The Cathars* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1998).

Lambourne L., *Victorian Painting* (London: Phaidon Press, 1999).

Lang D.M., *Armenia: Cradle of Civilisation* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd).

Langley Moore D., 'Byron, Leigh Hunt, and the Shelleys: New light on an Old Scandal', *Keats Shelley Memorial*, 10, (1959).

- Lansdown P., *Byron's Historical Dramas* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992).
- Laughlin J., 'The Strange Fire of Nadab and Abihu' *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 95, (1976), pp.559-565.
- Laurence R. trans., *The Book of Enoch, the Prophet* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1821).
- Laurence A., W.R. Owena, and S. Sim eds., *John Bunyan and His England* (London: Hambledon Press, 1990).
- Layton B. ed., *The Rediscovery of Gnosticism* (Leiden: E J Brill, 1983).
- Leask N., *British Romantic Writers and the East* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
- Leff G., *Heresy in the Later Middle Ages*, 3 vols (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1967).
- Legois E., *Spencer* (London: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1933).
- Leslie J., *The Historie of Scotland*, trans. Father J. Dalrymple, ed. Rev. Father Cody (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1895).
- Levi A., 'The Relationship Between Literature and Theology: An Historical Perspective', *Literature and Theology*, 1, (1987), pp.11-18.
- Lewis C.S., *Spencer's Images of Life* (Cambridge: University Press, 1979).
- Lewis M., *The Monk* (Oxford: English Classics, 2008).
- Lightfoot J.B., *Historical Essays* (London: Macmillan & Co, 1896).
- Limentani U., *Dante's Comedy, Introductory Readings of Selected Cantos* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).
- Lindsay R., *The Historie and Cronicles of Scotland*, ed. E.J.G. Mackay (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1899).
- Lockridge L., *The Ethics of Romanticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).
- Logan A., *The Gnostics, Identifying an Early Christian Cult* (London: T&T Clark, 2006).
- *Gnostic Truth and Christian Heresy* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996).
- Logan A. ed., *The New Testament and Gnosis* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1983).

Logan J.F., 'Condillac, Volney and the Lessons of the Past', *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, 154, (1976), pp.1329-1335.

Looper T., *Byron and the Bible: a Compendium of Biblical Usage in the Poetry of Lord Byron* (London: Scarecrow Press, 1978).

Louis M.K., 'Gods and Mysteries: The Revival of Paganism and the Remaking of Mythography through the Nineteenth Century', *Victorian Studies*, 47, (2005), pp.329-361.

Lovell E.J. ed., *Lady Blessington's Conversations of Lord Byron* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969).

----- ed. *English Romanticism: the Grounds of Belief* (London: Macmillan Press Ltd 1983).

Lovell E.J., 'Byron and Mary Shelley', *The Keats-Shelley Journal*, 2, (1953), pp. 35-49.

----- *His Very Self and Voice: Collected Conversations of Lord Byron* (London: Macmillan, 1954).

Lowenthal L., 'Sociology of Literature in Retrospect', *Critical Enquiry*, 14, (1987-88), pp.1-15.

Lund R., 'Laughing at Cripples: Ridicule, Deformity and the Argument from Design' *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 39, (2005), pp. 91-115.

Lynch H.F., *Armenia: Travels and Studies* (Beirut: Khayat, 1965).

MacCarthy F., *Byron: Life and Legend* (London: Faber & Faber, 2003).

MacDonald-Kinneir J., *Journey Through Asia Minor and Koordistan in the Years 1813 to 1814* (London: John Murray, 1818).

Macleod D., 'Scottish Calvinism: a Dark Repressive Force?', *The Scottish Bulletin of Evangelical Theology*, 19, (2001).

Maitland S., *Facts and Documents Illustrate of the History, Doctrine and Rites of the Ancient Albigenians and Waldenses* (London: Rivington, 1832).

Maitland S. and L. Broadt eds., *Genesis: Book of Beginnings* (Oxford: Lion Publishing, 1997).

Mango C., 'Diabolus Byzantinus', *Dumbarton Oak Papers*, 46, (1992), pp.215-223.

Manning S., I. Brown, T. Owen-Clancy and M. Pittock eds., *The Edinburgh History of Scottish Literature*, 2 vols (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007).

Manning S. *The Puritan Provincial Vision: Scottish and American Literature in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

Mansel H., *The Gnostic Heresies of the First and Second Centuries* (London: John Murray, 1875).

Marchand L.A. ed., *Byron's Letters and Journals* 13 vols (London: John Murray, 1973-94).

Marchand L.A., 'Byron's Lameness, a Re-examination', *Keats Shelley Memorial*, 3, (1956), pp. 32- 41.

----- *Byron's Poetry* (London: John Murray, 1965).

----- *Byron a Biography*, 2 vols (London: John Murray, 1957).

Marjarum E., *Byron as a Skeptic and Believer* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1962).

Marino G., 'Kierkegaard in the Present Age', *New York Times*, (28.10.2009), pp.22-23.

Marlowe C., *Tamburlaine the Great Parts I and II*, ed. JD Jump (London: Edward Arnold, 1967).

----- *The Tragical History of Doctor Faustus*, ed. R.S. Knox (London: Methuen & Co, 1924).

Marshall P., 'The Reformation of Hell? Protestant and Catholic Infernalism in England 1560-1640' *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 61, 2010), pp.279-298.

----- 'The Making of the Tudor Judas: Trust and Betrayal in the English Reformation' *Reformation*, 13, (2008), pp. 77-102.

Marshall W., *The Structure of Byron's Major Poems* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1965).

Martin L.C., 'Byron's Lyrics', *Byron Foundation Lectures*, (1948).

Martin J., *Beauty and Holiness: The Dialogues Between Aesthetics and Religion* (Princeton: University Press, 1990).

Martin S., *Cathars* (Pocket Essentials: Harpendon 2005).

Mason D., 'Robert Burns: Inspired Clay', *Hudson Review*, 62, (2009), pp. 247-258.

Mason P., 'The Communion of Citizens: Calvinist Themes in Rousseau's Theory of State' *Polity*, 26, (1993), pp. 25-49.

Mather C., *The Wonders of the Invisible World: Being an Account of the Tryals of Several Witches, lately Executed in New England* (London: John Dunton, 1693).

Maurois A., *Byron*, trans. H. Miles (London: Jonathan Cape, 1930).

----- *Ariel*, trans. E.D'Arcy (London: The Bodley Head, 1930).

May H., 'The Decline of Providence' *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, 154, (1976) pp.1401-1416.

Mazzeo J.A., 'Dante and Epicurus', *Comparative Literature*, 10, (1958), pp.106-120.

McCaffrey E., 'Memory and Collective Identity in Occitanie: The Cathars in History and Popular Culture', *History and Memory*, 13, (2001), pp.114-138.

McCormick L., 'Lord Byron's *Manfred*: a Study of Alienation from Within' *University of Toronto Quarterly*, 40, (1970), pp.15-26.

McCue J., 'Orthodoxy and Heresy: Walter Bauer and the Valentinians', *Vigiliae Christianae*, 33, (1979), pp. 118-130.

McGann J., *Fiery Dust: Byron's Poetic Development* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1968).

----- *Byron and Romanticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

McGann J., *The Complete Poetical Works of Lord Byron*, 7 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980-1993).

Mcklosky J.C., 'The Theme of Despair in Marlowe's *Faustus*', *College English*, 4, (1942), pp. 110-113.

McIntyre J., *The Shape of Christology: Studies in the Doctrine of the Person of Christ* (Edinburgh: T&T Clarke, 1998).

McNeill J.T., 'The Interpretation of Protestantism During the Past Quarter Century', *The Journal of Religion*, 6, (1926), pp. 504-525.

McVeigh D.M., 'Manfred's Curse', *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*, 22, (1982), pp.601-612.

Medwin T., *Medwin's Conversations with Lord Byron*, ed. E. Lovell. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966).

Mekier A., 'Broken Mirrors and Multiplied Reflections in Lord Byron and Mary Shelley', *Studies in Romanticism*, 46, (2007), pp.461-480.

Mellinkoff R., *The Mark of Cain* (London: University of California Press, 1981).

Melville H., *Moby Dick* (London: Norton & Co, 2002).

Mentz S., 'Reason, Faith and Shipwreck in Sidney's *New Arcadia*', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 44, (2004), pp. 1-18.

Mentzer R.A. ed., *Sin and the Calvinists, Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies* (Truman State University Press, 2002).

Metzger B., *The Early Versions of the New Testament: Their Origins, Transmission and Limitations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

Michaels L., 'Byron's Cain', *PMLA*, 84, (1969), pp. 71-78.

Millan S., *Arminianism Exposed and Refuted* (Aberdeen: D Chalmers, 1821).

Millingen J., *Memoirs of the Affairs in Greece with various Anecdotes of Lord Byron and an Account of his Last Illness and Death* (London: Murray, 1831).

Milton J., *Paradise Lost* (Arcturus Publishing Ltd, 2006).

Mitchell A.F. ed., *The Gude & Godlie Ballatis* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1897).

Mizuta H., 'Towards a Definition of the Scottish Enlightenment', *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, 154, (1973), pp. 1459-1464.

Modi J.J., *A Catechism of Zoroastrian Religion* (Bombay: J.N. Petit P. Orphanage Captain P. Works, 1911).

Monthzin E.L., 'Southey's "Satanic School" Remarks: an Old charge for a New Offender', *The Keats-Shelley Journal*, 21, (1972), pp.29-32.

Moore T., *Lallah Rookh* (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longman, 1854).
----- *The Poetical Works of Thomas Moore*, ed. C. Kent (London: Routledge, 1883).

Moore T. ed., *Letters and Journals of Lord Byron, with Notice of his Life*, 2 vols (Paris: Baudry's European Library, 1833).

Moore R.E., 'The Spirit and the Letter: Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* and Elizabethan Religious Radicalism', *Studies in Philology*, 99, (2002), pp. 123-152.

Moore R.I., *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Power and Deviance in Western Europe, 950-1250* (Oxford: Blackwells, 1987).

Morier J., *A Journey Through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor to Constantinople in the Years 1808 to 1809* (London: Longman, Hurst & Co, 1812).

Morton T. and N. Smith eds., *Radicalism in British Literary Culture 1650-1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

Mortenson R., 'Abel: a Mystery by Phillip Dixon Hardy; an Answer to Lord Byron's *Cain: a Mystery*', *Keats Shelley Memorial*, 19, (1968), pp. 28-32.

Mosheim J., *Ecclesiastical History Ancient and Modern*, 5 vols (London: The Michigan Historical Reprint Series, University of Michigan, 2008).

Mullan D.G., *Scottish Puritanism 1590 – 1638* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

Muller R.A., *Christ and the Decree: Christology and Predestination in Reformed Theology from Calvin to Perkins* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2008).

Mumford Jones H., *Revolution and Romanticism* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1974).

Murphy M., 'Coleridge and Atheism in the 1790s', *Coleridge Bulletin*, 11, (1998), pp.48-60.

Murray E.B. ed., *The Prose works of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).

Nansen F., *Armenia and the Near East* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1976)

Napier P., *Revolution and the Napier Brothers 1820-1840* (London: Michael Joseph, 1973).

Nash D., 'Analyzing the History of Religious Crime: Models of "Passive" and "Active" Blasphemy since the Medieval Period', *Journal of Social History*, 41, (2007), pp. 5-29.

Neressian V., *The Tondrakian Movement: Religious Movements in the Armenian Church from the Fourth to the Tenth Centuries* (London: Kahn & Averill, 1987).
----- *The Bible in Armenian Tradition* (London: British Library, 2001).

Nerssian S., *The Armenians* (Norwich: Thames & Hudson, 1969).
----- *Armenia and the Byzantine Empire* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974).

Neville G., *Coleridge and Liberal Religious Thought* (London: IB Tauris, 2001).

New M., 'The Grease of God: the Form of Eighteenth Century Fiction', *PMLA*, 91, (1976), pp. 235-244.

Newell K.B., 'Paul Elmer More on Byron', *The Keats-Shelley Journal*, 12, (1963), pp. 67-74.

Newland T.C., 'Holbach and Religion Versus Morality', *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, 140, (1975), pp. 203-218.

Newlyn L., *Paradise Lost and the Romantic Reader* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).

Newlyn L. ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Coleridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

Newton I., *Opticks: or a Treatise of the Reflections, Refractions, Inflections and Colours of Light* (London: Sam Smith, 1704).

NRSV.

- Nichols J., *Calvinism and Arminianism, Compared in their Principles and Tendency* (London: Longman Hurst, 1824).
- Nicholson A. ed., *Lord Byron: The Complete Miscellaneous Prose* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991).
 ----- *The Letters of John Murray to Lord Byron* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2007).
- Niditch S., *Ancient Israelite Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).
- Nietzsche F., *The Twilight of the Idols/ The Antichrist* (London: Penguin Books, 1990).
- Niven L. and J. Pournelle, *Inferno* (New York: Orb, 1976).
- Notopolous J., *The Platonism of Shelley: A Study of Platonism and the Poetic Mind* (Durham N. Carolina: Duke University Press, 1949).
 ----- 'Shelley and Thomas Taylor', *PMLA*, 51, (1936), pp. 502-517.
- Norris F.W., 'Ignatius, Polycarp, and I Clement: Walter Bauer Reconsidered' *Vigiliae Christianae*, 30, (1976), pp. 23-44.
- Norwich J.J., *Byzantium, The Early Centuries* (London: Penguin Books, 1988).
- Novak M.E., 'Robinson Crusoe's Original Sin', *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*, 1, (1961), pp.19-29.
- Nuttall A., *The Alternative Trinity: Gnostic Heresy in Marlowe, Milton and Blake* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).
- Nuttall G., *The Faith of Dante Alighieri* (London: SPCK, 1969).
- O'Grady O., *The Prince of Darkness – The Devil in History, Religion and Psychology* (Longmead; Element Books, 1989).
- Oates W.E., *Religious Factors in Mental Illness* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1957).
- Obolensky D., *The Bogomils: A Study in Balkan Neomanichaeism* (London: AMS, 1948).
- Oliver S., 'Crossing Dark Barriers: Intertextuality and Dialogue Between Lord Byron and Walter Scott', *Studies in Romanticism*, 47, (2008), pp.15-35.
- Orel H., 'English Romantic Poets and the Enlightenment: Nine essays on a Literary Relationship', *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, 103, (1973).
- Ormanian M., *The Church of Armenia*, trans. G. Gregory (London: A.R. Mowbray & Co., 1912).

Ornstein R., 'Marlowe and God: The Tragic Theology of Doctor Faustus', *PMLA*, 83, (1968).

Osbourne E., *Irenaeus of Lyons* (Cambridge: University Press, 2001).

Paley M., *Energy and Imagination: a Study of the Development of Blake's Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970).

----- *Apocalypse and Millennium in English Romantic Poetry* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999).

Page N. ed., *Byron: Interviews and Recollections* (London: The Macmillan Press, 1985).

Parker F., 'Between Satan and Mephistopheles: Byron and the Devil', *The Cambridge Quarterly*, 35, (2006), pp. 1-29.

----- *Skepticism and Literature, an Essay on Pope, Hume, Sterne and Johnson* (Oxford: University Press, 2003).

Parker T.H.L., *John Calvin* (Sydney: Lion Paperback, 1987).

Parker Ellinger E., *Thomas Chatterton the Marvellous Boy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1930).

Parrott D., 'Gnosticism and the Egyptian Religion', *Novum Testamentum*, 29, (1987), pp.73-93.

Parsons G. ed., *Religion in Victorian Britain Vol IV* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988).

Patterson A., 'Andrew Marvell and the Revolution', in *Cambridge Companion to the Writing of the English Revolution*, ed. N.H. Keeble (Cambridge: CUP, 2001), pp.107-125.

Payne G., *Dark Imaginings: Ideology and Darkness in the Poetry of Lord Byron* (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2008).

Peacock T.L., *Nightmare Abbey* (London: The Folio Society, 1994).

Pearson B., *Gnosticism, Judaism and Egyptian Christianity* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990).

Perron A., *Zend Avesta* (Paris: NM Tilliard, 1771).

Perry A., 'Is John an Alexandrian Gospel?', *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 63, (1944), pp.99-106.

Peters E. ed., *Heresy and Authority in Medieval Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1980).

- Pfau T., 'The Philosophy of Shipwreck: Gnosticism, Skepticism and Coleridge's Catastrophic Modernity', *MLN*, 122, (2007), pp.949-1004.
- Pinson Y., 'Connotations of Sin and Heresy in the Figure of the Black King in Some Northern Renaissance Adorations', *Artibus et Historiae*, 17, (1996), pp. 159-175.
- Pitt V., 'Shelley, Plain?', *Literature and History*, 1, (1975).
- Plato, *Republic*, trans. F.M. Cornford (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951).
 ----- *Phaedrus*, trans. Waterfield R. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).
 ----- *Timaeus and Critias*, trans. Lee D. (London: Penguin Books, 1971).
- Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, trans. J.G. Griffiths (Cambridge: University of Wales Press, 1979).
- Polidori J.W., *The Vampyre* (Washington DC: Woodstok Books, 2001).
- Poole W., *Milton and the Idea of the Fall* (Cambridge: University Press, 2005).
- Popkin R.H. ed., *Scepticism and the Enlightenment* (London: Kluwer Publishers, 1997).
- Porter H.C., *Reformation and Reaction in Tudor Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958).
- Porter R., *Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, Ancient Babylonia During the Years 1817, 1818, 1819 and 1820* (London: Longman, 1821).
- Praz M., *The Romantic Agony* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979).
- Price J. ed., *Gibbon's Account of Christianity Considered* (Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 1989).
- Price-Parkin R., 'Alexander Pope's Use of Biblical and Ecclesiastical Allusions' *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, 57, (1967), pp. 1185-1215.
- Prickett S., *Romanticism and Religion: the Tradition of Coleridge and Wordsworth* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976).
 ----- *The Origins of Narrative: The Romantic Appropriation of the Bible* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
- Prickett S. ed., *The Romantics* (London: Methuen & Co, 1981).
- Priestley J., *The Corruptions of Christianity*, 2 vols (Birmingham: J Thompson, 1793).
- Priestman M., *Romantic Atheism – Poetry and Freethought, 1780-1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Pres, 1999).
- Punter D. ed., *A Companion to the Gothic* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000).

Punter D. *Literature of Terror – the Gothic Tradition*, 2 vols (London: Longman, 1996).

Purinton M., *Romantic Ideologies Unmasked: The Mentally Constructed Tyrannies in Dramas of William Wordsworth, Lord Byron, Percy Shelley and Joanna Baillie* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1994).

Pym D., *The Religious Thought of Samuel Taylor Coleridge* (London: Colin Smythe, 1978).

Quennell P., *Byron: the Years of Fame* (London: Faber & Faber, 1935).

Querriga A.T., *Jesus as Christ : What is at Stake in Christology?* (London: SCM Press, 2008)

Quinlan M., 'William Cowper and the Unpardonable Sin', *Journal of Religion*, 23, (1943), pp.110-116.

----- 'Memoir of William Cowper', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 97, (1953), pp.359-382.

Quinones R.J., *The Changes of Cain: Violence and Lost Brotherhood in Cain and Abel Literature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).

Rambart W.H. and A. Roberts trans., *The Writings of St. Irenaeus Against Heresies* (London: Kissinger Publishing, 2004).

Rais M.B. ed., *Byron: a Poet for All Seasons, 25th International Byron Conference* (Messolonghi: Byron Society, 2000).

Raiziz M.B., 'Byron's Promethean Rebellion in 1816: Fictionality and Self-Projection in his Poetry of that Year' *The Byron Journal*, 19, (1991), pp.41-52.

Reardon B., *Religion in the Age of Romanticism: Studies in Early Nineteenth Century Thought* (Cambridge University Press, 1985).

Reddish M., *An Introduction to the Gospels* (Nashville: Abbingdon Press, 1997).

Redshaw A.M., 'Voltaire and Lucretius', *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, 189, (1980), pp. 19-44.

Reed A.Y., *Fallen Angels and the History of Judaism and Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

Reeves J.C., 'Manichaica Aramaica? Adam and the Magical Deliverance of Seth', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 119, (1999), pp.432-439.

Reiman T. ed., *The Romantics Reviewed – Contemporary Reviews of British Romantic Writers*, 5 vols (London: Garland Publishing, 1972).

Renwick W. ed., *Spencer Selections* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923).

Richardson C.C. trans., *Library of Christian Classics: Early Christian Fathers* (London: SCM Press, 1953).

Richardson A., *A Mental Theatre: Poetic Drama and Consciousness in the Romantic Age*, (Pensylvannia: UP, 1988).

Ridanour G., *The Style of Don Juan* (London: Archon Books, 1969).

Roberts A. and T. Rambart, *The Writings of Irenaeus of Lyons*, 2 vols (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1868).

Roberts S.C., *Dr. Johnson and Others* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958).

Robertson W., *The History of Scotland During the Reign of Queen Mary and King James VI Till His Accession to the Crown of England with a Review of the Scottish History Previous to that Period* (London: T. Cadall, 1821).

Robinson C.E. ed., *Lord Byron and his Contemporaries: Essays from the 6th International Byron Seminar* (London: University of Delaware Press, 1982).

Robinson C.E., *Shelley and Byron: The snake and Eagle Wreathed in Fight* (London: John Hopkins University Press, 1976).

----- 'Byron and Mary Shelley and *Frankenstein*', *Byron Centre Inaugural Lecture* (2000).

Roe N. ed., *Romanticism: an Oxford Guide* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

Rose W., *From Goethe to Byron. The Development of Weltschmerz in German Literature* (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1924).

Roston M., *Prophet & Poet: The Bible and the Growth of Romanticism* (London: Faber & Faber, 1965)

Rostevor Hamilton G., *Hero or Fool? A Study of Milton's Satan* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1944).

Rowley H., *Worship in Ancient Israel: its Forms and Meaning* (London: SPCK 1973).

Royle T., *The Macmillan Companion to Scottish Literature* (London: Macmillan Reference books, 1983).

Rudolph K., *Gnosis: The Nature and History of Gnosticism* (T&T Clark Publishers, 1998).

Rudwin M., *The Devil in Legend and Literature* (London: Open Court Publishing, 1931).

Runciman S., *The Medieval Manichee, a Study of the Christian Dualist Heresy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960).

Rupp G., *Six Makers of English Religion* (New York: Plainview, 1974).
----- *The Righteousness of God* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1963).

Russell B., *The History of Western Philosophy* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1946).

Russell J., *Moore's Memoirs and Correspondence* (London: Longmans, 1853).

Russell J.B., *The Devil and Perceptions of Evil from Antiquity to Primitive Christianity*, 2 vols (London: Cornell University Press, 1977).

Russell J.R., *Zoroastrianism in Armenia* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1987).

Ruston J., 'Vegetarianism and Vitality in the Work of Thomas Forster, William Laurence and P.B. Shelley', *Keats Shelley Journal*, 55, (2005), pp.113-132.

Rutherford A. ed., *Byron Critical Heritage* (London: Routledge, 1970).
Rutherford A., *Byron: Critical Study* (London: Oliver & Boyd, 1961).
----- 'Byron: A Pilgrim's Progress' *Byron Journal*, 2, (1974), pp.4-28.

Ryan R.M., *The Romantic Reformation: Religious Politics in English Literature 1789-1824* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
----- 'Byron's Cain: The Ironies of Belief', *The Wordsworth Circle*, 21, (1990) pp.41-45.

Sachs J., *Romantic Antiquity: Rome in the British imagination, 1789-1832* (New York: OUP, 2010).

Sandbank S., 'Henry Vaughan's Apology for Darkness', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 7, (1967), pp. 141-152.

Santayana G., *Three Philosophical Poets: Lucretius, Dante and Goethe* (London: Henry Frowde, 1910).

Schieber A., 'A Remark on the Legend of the Sacrificial Smoke of Cain and Abel' *Vigiliae Christianae*, 10, (1956), pp.194-195.

Schliesselbein M., "'Lessons of True Religion': Mary Shelley's Tribute to Catholicism in *Valperga*", *Religion and Literature*, 30, (1998), pp.59-79.

Schmidt A.A., *Byron and the Rhetoric of Italian Nationalism* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

Schock P.A., 'The Satanism of Cain in Context: Byron's Lucifer and the War against Blasphemy' *Keats Shelley Memorial*, 44, (1995), pp. 182-215.

Scopello M., 'The Apocalypse of Zostrianos (Nag Hammadi VIII.I) and the Book of the Secrets of Enoch' *Vigilae Christianae*, 34, (1980), pp.376-386.

Scott T., *On The Holy Bible* (London: Bellamy & Roberts, 1742)

Scott W., *The Heart of the Midlothian* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004)
----- *The Poetical Works of Walter Scott*, ed. J.L. Robertson (London: Oxford University Press, 1917).

Scott W. trans., *Hermetica: The Ancient Greek and Latin Writings which Contain Religious or Philosophical Teachings, Ascribed to Hermes Trismegistus* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924).

Sharpe T., *Remapping Early Modern England: the Culture of Seventeenth-Century Politics* (Cambridge: CUP, 2000), pp.389-390.

Shaw T.M., *The Burden of the Flesh: Fasting and Sexuality in Early Christianity* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1998).

Shears J., *The Romantic Legacy of Paradise Lost: Reading Against the Grain* (London: Ashgate, 2009).

Shelley B., *Shelley and Scripture: the Interpreting Angel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994).

Shelley P.B., *Shelley's Devil Notebook* Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e.9 Vol. XIV ed. PMS Dawson & T. Webb (New York: Garland Publishing, 1993).
----- *Complete Poetical Works*, ed. T. Hutchinson (London: Oxford University Press, 1929).

Sibbes R., *All Soules Conflict* (1635).

Sinfield A., *Literature in Protestant England 1560-1660* (London: Croom & Helm, 1983).

Sloane G., 'Great Minds: Lord Byron and the Demons of Calvinism', *Free Enquiry*, 8, (2008), pp.45-46.

Small R., *The History of the United Presbyterian Church* (Edinburgh: 1904).

Smith D., *God, the Poet and the Devil: Robert Burns and Religion* (Edinburgh: St Andrews Press, 2008).

Southey R., *The Works of William Cowper with a Life of the Author* (London: H.G. Bohn, 1853).

Spencer E., *Faerie Queene*, ed. R. Morris (London: Macmillan & Co, 1898).

Spence G., 'Byron, Enoch, Calvin and the Deluge', *The Byron Journal*, 27, (1999), pp. 66-75.

St. Clair Tisdall W., 'Armenian versions of the Bible', *International Standard Bible Encyclopedia* (1915).

Stabler J. ed., *Palgrave Advances in Byron Studies* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

Stachniewski J., *Persecutory Imagination: English Puritanism and the Literature of Religious Despair* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991).

Stauffer A., *Anger, Revolution and Romanticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

Stayrou C.N., 'Religion in Byron's *Don Juan*', *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*, 3, (1963), pp.567-594.

Steadman J., 'Milton and Patristic Tradition: the Quality of Hellfire', *Anglia*, 76, (1958), pp. 116-128.

Steffan T., *Lord Byron's Cain* (London: University of Texas, 1968).

Stevenson W., 'Byron and Coleridge: The Eagle and the Dove', *The Byron Journal*, 19, (1991), pp. 114-127.

Stevenson-Smith W., 'The Relationship Between Egyptian Ideas and Old Testament Thought' *Journal of Bible and Religion*, 19, (1951), pp.12-15.

Stone M., *Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha and Armenian Studies* (Louvain: Peters, 2006).

Stoyanov Y., *The Other God* (London: Yale University Press, 2000)

Strauman H., 'Byron and Switzerland', *Byron Foundation Lectures*, (1949-50).

Stroumsa S. and G. Stroumsa, 'Aspects of Anti-Manichean Polemic in Late Antiquity and Under Early Islam', *The Harvard Theological Review*, 81, (1988), pp.37-58.

Suria K., *Turnings of Light and Darkness, Theological Essays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

Swedenborg E., *Heaven & Hell*, trans. Rev T. Hartley (London: Swedenborg Society, 1850).

Sym J., *Life Preservatives Against Self-Killing* (New York: Routledge, 1988).

Tacket T., *Religion Revolution and Regional Culture in Eighteenth-Century France* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986).

Takahashi I., 'Is Byron a True Manichean?', *Poetica*, 63, (2008), pp.49-62.

Tallet F. and N. Atkin eds., *Religion Society and Politics in France since 1789* (London: Hambledon Press, 1991).

Tandon B.G., *The Imagery of Lord Byron's Plays* (Austria: Salzburg University Press, 1976).

Taylor C., *Heresy in Medieval France: Dualism in the Aquitaine and the Agenais, 1000-1249* (The Royal Historical Society, Boydell Press, 2005).

Taylor J., *The Scripture Doctrine of Original Sin, Proposed to Free and Candid Examination*, 4th ed. (London: M. Waugh, 1767).

Taylor T., *The History of the Waldenses and Albigenses, who Begun the Reformation in the Vallies of Piedmont and Various other Places, Several Hundred Years Before Luther* (Bolton: J. Higham, 1793).

Tennenbaum L., 'Lord Byron in the Wilderness: Biblical Tradition in Byron's *Cain* and Blake's *The Ghost of Abel*' *Modern Philology*, 72, (1975), pp. 350-364.

Tertullian, 'Prescription Against Heretics' *Early Latin Theology*, ed. S Greenslade (London: SCM Press Ltd., 1954).

The British Critic, Quarterly Theological Review and Ecclesiastical Record, IX (London: Rivington, 1831)

The Catholic Dictionary of Theology, 3 vols (London: Nelson & Sons, 1971).

The Times Atlas of World History (London: Times Books Ltd, 1979).

The Encyclopaedia of Christianity, 2 vols, ed. G.W. Bromiley (Michigan: WMB. Eerdmans).

The Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1913).

The International Standard Bible Encyclopaedia, ed. J. Orr (1915).

The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium, ed. AP Kazhdan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).

The Oxford Illustrated History of Christianity (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).

The Oxford Encyclopaedia of the Reformation, ed. H. J. Hillerbrand (Oxford University Press, 1996).

The Scottish Liturgy for the Celebration of the Eucharist (Edinburgh: Cambridge University Press, 1912).

Thomas R.S., *Collected Poems: 1945-1990* (London: Dent, 1993).

Thompson C. ed., *Romantic-era Shipwreck Narratives: an Anthology* (Nottingham: Trent editions, 2007).

Thompson C., *The Suffering traveller and Romantic Imagination* (Oxford: OUP, 2007).

Thompson E.P., *Witness Against the Beast: William Blake and the Moral Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

Thornton R.D., 'Robert Burns and the Scottish Enlightenment', *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, 58, (1967), pp. 1533-1549.

Thorslev P., *The Byronic Hero* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1965).

Tilley M., 'When Schism Becomes Heresy in Late Antiquity: Developing Doctrinal Deviance in the Wounded Body of Christ', *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, 15, (2007), pp.1-21.

Tissot H., *L'Onanisme, dissertation sur les maladies produits par la masturbation* (Lausanne 1760).

Toliver H.E., 'The Strategy of Marvell's Resolve against Created Pleasure', *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*, 4, (1964), pp. 57-69.

Tomkinson N., *The Christian Faith and Practice of Samuel Johnson, Thomas Quincey and Thomas Love Peacock* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 1992).

Tomline G., *A Refutation of Calvinism* (London: Luke Hansard & Sons, 1823).

Toon P., *The Emergence of Hyper Calvinism in English Nonconformity, 1689 – 1765* (London: The Olive Tree, 1967).

Traill R., *A Vindication of the Protestant Doctrine Concerning Justification and of its Preachers and Professors, from the Unjust Charges of Antinomianism* (Perth: Morrison, 1828).

Trapnell W.H., 'The Treatment of Christian Doctrine by Philosophers of the Natural Light from Descartes to Berkley', *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, 252, (1988), pp. 1-217.

Trevor-Roper H., 'The Scottish Enlightenment', *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, 58, (1967), pp. 1635-1658.

Tung C.L.T., '"Beauty is Goodness, Goodness Beauty": Shelley's "Awful Shadow" and "Ethical "Sublime"', *Intergrams*, 9, (2008) pp. 1-29.

Turner K. ed., *Selected Poems of Thomas Gray, Charles Churchill and William Cowper* (London: Penguin Classics, 1997).

Twitchell J., 'The Supernatural Structure of Byron's *Manfred*', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 15, (1975), pp. 601-614.

Vail J., *The Literary Relationship of Lord Byron and Thomas Moore* (London: John Hopkins University Press, 2001).

Vallée G., *A Study in Anti-Gnostic Polemics: Irenaeus, Hippolytus and Ephraïmus* (Canada: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2nd ed. 1981).

Van Groningen G., *First Century Gnosticism: Its Origins and Motifs* (Leiden: EJ Brill, 1967).

Van Kley D.K., *The Religious Origins of the French Revolution from Calvin to the Civil Constitution, 1560-1791* (London: Yale University Press, 1996).

Vasilev G., *Heresy and the English Reformation* (London: Macfarland & Co, 2008).
----- 'Philosophie et figures dualistes dans les pamphlets de John Milton', in *Milton in France*, ed. C. Tournu (London: Peter Laing, 2008).

Vassallo P., *Byron – the Italian Literary Influence* (London: Macmillan Press, 1984).

Venning B., 'A Macabre Connoissership: Turner, Byron and the Apprehension of Shipwreck Subjects in Early Nineteenth Century England', *Art History*, 8, (1985).

Vermes G., *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls* (London: Penguin, 1998).

Volney M., *Ruins, or a Survey of the Revolutions of Empires* trans. J. Johnson (London: for J Johnson, 1795).

Voltaire F., *Candid and Other Stories*, trans. R. Pearson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).
----- *Philosophical Dictionary*, 7 vols (London: J & H L Hunt, 1824).

Vovelle M., *The Revolution Against the Church: From Reason to the Supreme Being*, trans. by Jose A. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991)

Wabuda S. ed., *Belief and Practise in Reformation England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998).

Wakefield W. and A. Evans eds., *Heresies of the High Middle Ages* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991).

Waldstein M. and F. Wisse eds., *The Apocryphon of John: Synopsis of Nag Hammadi Codices* (New York: Brill, 1995).

Walker B., *Gnosticism: its History and Influence* (Wellingborough: Aquarian Press, 1983).

Walker D.P., *The Decline of Hell in Seventeenth-Century Discussions of Eternal Torment* (Routledge: London, 1964).

Wallach A.P., 'Cole, Byron, and the Course of Empire', *The Art Bulletin*, 50, (1978), pp.375-379.

Watkins D.P., 'Politics and Religion in Byron's *Heaven and Earth*', *The Byron Journal*, 11, (1983) pp.30-39.

Watson J.R. and J. Raimond, *A Handbook to English Romanticism* (St Martin's Press, 1992).

Wattles G., 'Buffon, d'Alembert and Materialist Atheism', *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, 266, (1989), pp.285-342.

Watts I., *Christian Theology and Ethics* (London: Thomas Tegg & Son, 1838).

Weitreich J.A. ed., *The Romantics on Milton: Formal Essays and Critical Asides* (London: Case Western Reserve University Press, 1970).

Weitzman A.J., 'The Oriental Tale in the Eighteenth Century: a Reconsideration', *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, 58, (1967), pp. 1839-1855.

Werblowsky R., *Lucifer and Prometheus: A Study of Milton's Satan* (London: Routledge, 1952).

Werner A., *Degas Pastels* (New York: Watson-Guption, 1969).

West P. ed., *Byron: a Collection of Critical Essays* (New Jersey: Prentice hall, 1963).

West P., *Byron: the Spoilers Art* (New York: Lumen Books, 1992).

Whelan R., 'The Anatomy of Superstition: a Study of the Historical Theory and Practice of Pierre Bayle', *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, 259, (1989), pp. 1-240.

Whitby D., *Discourses Concerning Election and Reprobation, Extent of Christ's Redemption, The Grace of God, Liberty of the Will Defectability of the Saints* (Massachusetts: Isaiah Thomas, 1801).

White J., *The Masks of Melancholy: A Christian Psychiatrist Looks at Depression and Suicide* (Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press, 1982).

Wigglesworth M., *The Day of Doom* (Fire and Ice Sermon Series; www.puritansermons.com).

Williams D.S., 'Reconsidering Marcion's Gospel', *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 108, (1989), pp. 477-496.

Williams F. trans., *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis: Book 1, sects 1-46* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1987).

Williams J.A., 'Zoroastrianism and the Resemblance Between it and Christianity' *The Biblical World*, 27 (1906), pp.335-343.

Williams M., "'The Worst of Models – Though the Most Extraordinary of Writers' – Shakespeares, the Romantics and Byron', *Shakespeare in Southern Africa*, 21, (2009), pp.61-67.

----- "'More Impious than Milton's Satan"?: Satan, the Romantics and Byron' *English Studies in Africa: a Journal of Humanities*, 4, (2006), pp.109-122.

Wilson C.A. ed., *Byron: Heritage and Legacy* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

Wilson-Knight G., *Byron and Shakespeare* (London: Routledge & Keegan, 1966).

----- *Lord Byron: Christian Virtues* (London: Routledge & Keegan, 1952).

Wolfson, S., "'A Problem few Dare Imitate": *Sardanapalus* and "Effeminate Character"', *ELH*, 58, (1991), pp.867-902.

Womersley D., *Religious Scepticism: Contemporary Responses to Gibbon* (Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 1997).

Wood I.P., 'Borrowing Between Religions', *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 46, (1927), pp.105-108.

Woodhouse C.M., 'The Religion of an Agnostic', *The Byron Journal*, 6, 1978), pp.26-33.

Wright T., *Theology and Literature* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1988).

Wu D., *A Companion to Romanticism* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1998).

Young A.B., 'Ahrimanes by Thomas Love Peacock' *The Modern Language Review*, 4, (1909), pp. 217-230.

Zemka S., *Victorian Testaments: The Bible, Christology and Literary Authority in Early Nineteenth Century British Culture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997).